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Near East/South Asia Report

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4 September 1985

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

COMMENTS ON DEUKMEJIAN'S APPOINTMENT TO 'U.S. HOLOCAUST COUNCIL'

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 22 Jul 85 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Reagan Appoints Deukmejian Member of the 'American Holocaust Council'"]

[Text] The HURIYET correspondent reports from California that the first thing U.S. President Reagan did upon leaving the hospital was to appoint Governor Deukmejian, who is of Armenian descent, member of the "U.S. Holocaust Council." This body, established by former President Jimmy Carter, and tasked with establishing a holocaust museum in Washington, now has one more Armenian member joining those who are already on the council.

With George Deukmejian's appointment, there is an increasingly stronger probability that there will be approval of an Armenian section in the planned "Holocaust Museum."

A number of sources have noted that there is sure to be approval of an Armenian section in a holocaust museum in Los Angeles, a proposal for the construction of which passed in both the California State Assembly and Senate. An appropriation of 5 million dollars was voted to help fund this museum. California Governor George Deukmejian announced that he will also push for the inclusion of an Armenian section in the "Holocaust Museum" to be established in Washington, that he will use every available means to accomplish this and that he is sure the effort will be successful.

This move by Reagan immediately upon leaving the hospital, done as a favor to George Deukmejian even at the cost of offending the Turks, has caused dismay and disappointment in many circles.

George Deukmejian announced at a press conference he had called last May that he supported the establishment of an Armenian Government and demanded that the U.S. authorities endeavor to discuss the matter with the Soviet Union and Turkey. And in a letter to Reagan he "expressed his regret" at the fact that President Reagan had shown indifference up to that time.

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ARMENIAN-TURKISH RELATIONS IN U.S. CONSIDERED HOSTILE

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 2 Aug 85 p 1

[Article: "Turkish and Armenian Youth in America May Kill Each Other One Day"]

[Text] Today's issue of our fellow newspaper CUMHURIYET carries an interview with the former executive director of the Assembly of Turkish-American Association in the United States, Nan Canter, on the occasion of her several-day visit to Istanbul. Nan Canter gives useful information about Turks living in America and stresses that the main issue about which they are concerned is the Armenian Question, which has reached disturbing proportions.

"The Armenian Question is different for Turks in Turkey and for Turks in America," she states. The Armenians in America have found it a fertile ground, and as if that were not enough, they have succeeded in arousing sufficient feelings about human suffering that efforts are being made to establish a museum devoted to this subject. The Armenians, particularly during the Nazi period, exploiting the fact of the killing of Jews, succeeded in presenting themselves as a people victimized by massacre. They have engaged in such efforts that today in America the killing of the Jews and the Armenian Question are mentioned simultaneously and in parallel.

Nan Canter complains about the textbooks used in American schools.

"In textbooks read by Turkish children, they read about how the Turks massacred the Armenians. After reading this they naturally go home and ask their parents about it. Since the majority of Turkish families do not know anything about 1915, they have no idea how to reply to their children. But lately they have learned a great deal. They have even requested that their children not be assigned such books. The reason for the fact that Turkish families generally do not know about the events of 1915 is that they are not discussed at all in Turkish history books."

Nan Canter adds that the Armenian lobby is very influential in America. This lobby is led by Senators Tony Coelho and Pashayan. Pashayan is an insensitive individual of Armenian descent. "When I once had occasion to speak with him, he acted in a condescending manner. I told him that the third-generation Armenians and Turks harbor considerable hostility toward one another and one day may take to the streets against one another. They might

kill each other. He replied in an insensitive manner that this would not change anything and let them do what they want. He insisted that no solution will be found until such time as the Turkish Government acknowledges the Armenian Genocide."

Nan Canter, a highly-educated, vital individual, analyzes the status and influence of such senators as Tony Coelho and explains how various circles are forced to support such senators because the latter are in a position to do them favors. "Young Armenians are brought up to feel extreme hatred toward everything Turkish, and the Turks know that they are a target for such hatred.

"One of these days Turkish and Armenian youths in America may take to the streets. Because of this it would be beneficial for historians closely to examine the events of 1915 and to bring out the truth in an expeditious manner. In this way perhaps it will be possible to abate aroused passions. I can understand that the Turkish Government does not want to talk about this problem. But efforts must be made to establish communication at several levels. People in the sciences should concern themselves with science, and politicians with politics. But I believe that there is a need to talk things over on a person-to-person level, in some way to establish a dialogue."

Nan Canter comments about Deukmejian as follows: "President Reagan's position is also extremely political. Appointing Deukmejian chairman of the Holocaust Museum Council is a move to do honor to California, pursuing the aim of doing something for California. Let us not forget that Reagan is a Californian."

8817

CSO: 4605/204

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

TURKISH MINISTER CRITICIZES 'PRO-ARMENIAN TV PROGRAMS'

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 31 Jul 85 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Halefoglou Meets With French Foreign Minister: Agenda Includes Armenian Propaganda"]

[Text] Turkish Foreign Minister Vahit Halefoglou, while in Helsinki on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation, met with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas. This meeting is viewed as another step in the recently noted process of rapprochement between Turkey and France.

It was announced that the suggestion to hold the meeting was made by France and that the two foreign ministers met at the French Embassy in Helsinki. In the course of the meeting Halefoglou explained what Turkey expected of France and that feelings against France have intensified due to the fact that France has been attempting to impede Turkey's participation in the Eureka plan. The French foreign minister replied that France has no such designs.

Halefoglou stated that many French banks have recently begun opening branches in Turkey, which is a positive step.

Halefoglou added that Turkey is not happy with the position France has taken against Turkey on the Committee for Human Rights and stated the hope that this issue could also be resolved in a manner whereby Turkey no longer has cause for concern.

The Armenian Question was also on the agenda. Halefoglou noted that lately French TV and radio have once again begun carrying pro-Armenian programs, which is wrong from the point of view of good French-Turkish relations. France must make it known that those stations are wrong in presenting only the Armenian point of view. In reply to this complaint, the French foreign minister stated that in France the government cannot exert influence on the electronic media, because they are free and independent. "It would be better for you to contact them and explain your views," stated the French foreign minister.

In the course of the meeting the French foreign minister stated that if Turkey expects certain things of France, France in turn expects certain things of Turkey, especially as regards democracy, and that France has the wish that these expectations be met by Turkey in the near future.

IRAQ

NATION SEES GROWTH IN TRANSPORT, COMMUNICATIONS

Baghdad THE BAGHDAD OBSERVER in English 10 Jul 85 p 4

[Article by Akram Dhanoon]

[Text]

In spite of the war of aggression imposed by the Khomeini clique of Iran, Iraq has maintained an ascending line of allocations for development of the transport and communication sector. A total of 205 million Iraqi Dinars was earmarked to this sector in 1983 compared with only ID 7,750,000 in 1968.

Railways

Emphasis has been placed on building an efficient railway system to secure comfortable and easy transport. And as a result, goods transported by railways amounted to 4,214,000 tons in 1984 compared with 2,651,000 tons in 1968. Number of passengers rose to 3,589,000 passengers in 1984 in comparison with only 1,623,000 passengers in 1968. That accounts for an increase of 221 per cent.

The first stage of the Baghdad-Qa'im-Ukashat railway has been completed. The lines connect Iraq with Arab ports on the Mediterranean to length of 1,000 km. This line is to provide speedy and comfortable transport for passengers between Iraq and other Arab countries. Capacities of the Baghdad-Mosul

and Baghdad-Basra lines have been increased and modernized, in addition to building new bridges and dykes and replacing the old ones.

Railway wagons increased to 14,066 in 1984 compared with 10,668 in 1968. Almost all old wagons have been replaced and new maintenance workshops set up.

Currently, work is in progress to complete the loop-line railway which connects Baghdad to Samawa through Kerbela. Kirkuk-Baiji-Haditha line now under construction will connect the eastern part of Iraq with the western. This has been accompanied by increasing activities to prepare the requirements for operating the new completed lines such as trained staff and new carriages.

Passenger transport

There are also good achievements in road transport and as a result some 3,348,841 passengers travelled by the 400 state-owned coaches inside and outside Iraq during 1984, through 25 bus terminals throughout the country.

Intercity transport services were equally active. During 1984 the State Establishment for Buses offered its services to 264,200,000 persons who travelled by its 1,395 buses inside Baghdad alone.

Cargo transport

Freight and cargo transport activity was brisk too. Some 10 million tons of different goods, products and commodities were carried by 3,500 trucks of the State Establishment for Road Transport during 1984. This includes imported and exported goods in 1984. Specialized commissions have been set up to provide quick facilities and ensure requirements for efficient transport of goods. Also established are maintenance factories and workshops to maintain trucks.

Sea and River transport

River transport had also major share of development. The capacity of the Iraqi fleet has increased from 12,000 tons in 1968 to 104,500 tons in 1984 that accounts for an increase of 870 per cent in addition to operating leased ships. The Iraqi fleet was able to main-

tain regular sea journeys to cover almost all geographical areas in the world.

To develop river transport, an overall survey was carried out to explore the possibility of navigation on the Tigris Rivers between Iraq's two major cities, Baghdad and Basra.

In the meantime the State Establishment for River Transport recently bought 100 barges of 500 tons capacity each and 67 cranes of various capacities. Sufficient numbers of wharves are planned and the main wharf in Zu'furaniya is being built. Work is also under way to expand the loading capacity of existing wharves at Kut and Amara to load/unload 500 tons of cargo.

River transport has effectively contributed to reducing pressure on Iraqi ports following disruption of some of their capacities due to Iranian aggression.

As for providing services for foreign ships, Iraqi sea transport agencies have been linked to a stable central agency ensuring the standard of such services to the foreign ships, agencies and ship owners to be constantly improved.

The unloading of goods in Iraqi ports has risen to 7,500,000 tons in the first nine months of 1980 in comparison with 1,365,000 tons in 1968. The number of special and general berths increased to 37 in 1984 compared with only 12 in 1968.

As for maintenance of water ways, more than 15 million cubic metres of sediments have been lifted in the first nine months of 1983

compared with 3.5 million cubic metres lifted from rivers in 1968. Several housing projects were completed for the workers in Iraqi ports and wharves. New facilities have been adopted to improve work including introducing computers in the field of management and operation.

Civil Aviation

Civil aviation has achieved impressive progress to keep pace with the increasing number of air passengers. Modern airports were built, the most important of which was the Saddam International Airport. These airports have been provided with modern facilities, computerized radars, air navigational traffic control, maintenance workshops, modern hangers and other facilities.

This has been matched by developing an efficient civil air fleet. 14 modern airplanes were bought by the Iraqi Airways. The number of passengers arriving in Iraq and leaving it substantially increased to 18,800 tons in 1984 compared with 2,462 tons in 1968. The number of flights also increased to 18,163 in 1984 compared with only 3,149 flights in 1968.

The increase in passengers and cargo flights has been accompanied by building new catering departments and two new hangers for Jumbo jets with other facilities.

Telephone and Telecommunications

In 1984 some 800,00 telephone lines were installed in

Baghdad in comparison with 99,000 lines in 1968. This has been coupled with setting up numerous electronic exchanges in provinces, districts and subdistricts.

As for international telephone services, an exchange with 11,000 lines has been set up. Intercity communications have been more quick and easy thanks to the microwave system which started operation in 1982.

Now it is possible to make telephone calls to most of the world's major cities. National Telex Exchange has also devoted some 12,565 channels for international communication services. The current international telex channels are 313, whereas the international telephone lines are 412. A study is being made to link Iraq with Turkey, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

Postal Services

Postal services have also been improved. There are now 303 post offices in which 15,318 private post boxes are available. Post offices are also being used as money depositing centres and centres for paying pensioners salaries. Sums deposited in the post offices by the end of 1984 were ID 85 million.

Studies are underway to improve postal services in Iraq. In 1984 an electronic system for automatic letter classification was used for the first time.

Specialized and qualified staff has been prepared to run these centres and new exchanges. Training is pro-

vided in several specialized institutes such as the International Institute for Telephone, Telegram and Post, the Institute of Civil Aviation, the Railway Institute, the Regional Meteorological Institute, the Ports Training Centre and the Ground Control Training Centre.

CSO: 4400/224

IRAQ

IRRIGATION, DRAINAGE PROJECTS BEGIN TO PAY OFF

Baghdad THE BAGHDAD OBSERVER in English 29 Jul 85 p 4

[Article by Clela Khoshaba]

[Text]

The Ministry of Irrigation undertakes the special task of building water dams irrigation, drainage and land reclamation projects. It is also responsible for maintenance work of existing projects, drilling Artesian wells and undertaking research, studies and designs for future water requirements.

Since its foundation in 1969, the Ministry of Irrigation has executed several important projects listed as priority projects within the five-year national development plans. It is currently carrying out some strategic projects which, when completed, will constitute a forward leap in the agricultural sector.

As for dams and reservoirs primarily designed to preserve available water resources in the country, the Ministry has built the following projects:

1.—Hamrin Dam on the Diyala River. This dam was completed in 1981 to control flooding and store water for irrigation of 1.2 million donum (2,500 square metres) in addition to generating 50 megawatts of electric power. The dam has a storage capacity of 3.95 billion cubic metres of water.

2. — Tharthar reservoir, was designed to control floods of the Tigris. It has a storage capacity of 85 billion cubic metres of water. The course of the Tigris has been linked to the reservoir so that surplus water can be diverted to the Tharthar valley pending completion of the Mosul and Bakhma reservoirs.

Two canals were built. The first links the valley with the Tigris and the other with the Euphrates. The second canal is 27 km long and 23-34 m. wide and has an outfall capacity of 1,100 cubic metre per second.

The Tharthar-Tigris canal is now under construction and is due to be completed by the end of 1986. It pours into the Tigris at a

point near al-Taji, north of Baghdad. It is 65 km long with an outfall capacity of 600 cubic metre/second. It is due to be completed by the end of 1986.

3.—Falluja Dam was built on the Euphrates with an outfall capacity of 3,600 cubic metre/second. This dam was completed at the beginning of 1985 to regulate the water level for the irrigation projects of Abu Ghraib, Radhwaniya, Latifiya and Iskandariya.

There are, moreover, other reservoirs due to be completed by the end of 1986. These are Haditha strategic dam which has a storage capacity of 8.2 billion cubic metres, Dohuk Dam, which guarantees irrigation water for an area of 15,000 acres west of Dohuk city. Dohuk dam has a storage capacity of 50 million cubic metres of water.

Iraq's greatest dam, however, is Saddam (Mosul) Dam. When completed, it is expected to irrigate more than a million donums of al-Jezira land.

Saddam Dam is being built on the Tigris river with a storage capacity of 11.11 billion cubic metres of water.

A hydro-electric power station is also being built on the dam to generate 1,034 megawatt. The project will be completed in 1986.

There are, however, other projects under study. These include among others, Bakhma Dam on the Upper Zab River to irrigate the Makhmour plain in Arbil Province and al-Fatha Dam near the Town of Beji. The Beji Dam aims at stabilizing water level of the Tigris and its two

tributaries, the Upper Zab and Lower Zab.

The western desert of the country is now the site of a number of small water projects which could help to settle nomads. Designs for similar small dams in the northern Province of Nineveh and in Diyala Province are being drawn up. Barges including seven barges constructed on the rivers of Hilla and Daghara (opened in 1983) and four others now under construction on the rivers of Shamiya and Kufa. Meanwhile work started early in 1985 on the construction of new Hindiya Barrage.

The Ministry of Irrigation is in charge of reclaiming the land and setting up major agricultural projects. Among these projects are al-Jezira project in Nineveh and Saddam Irrigation Project in Tameem Province. These two strategic projects will irrigate a huge areas of farm lands, currently depending on rainfall.

The first stage of Saddam irrigation project was inaugurated in November 1983 primarily to irrigate 350,000 donums which is expected to increase to more than a million donums including 133,000 donums which will be drip irrigated.

Al-Jazira Irrigation Project covers an area of more than a million donums. Work began early this year on the first phase and the whole project is to be completed in the five-year-plan of (1986-1990).

As for drainage projects, the main drainage canal was built to receive all drained water of the saline lands in the central and southern parts of Iraq and dispose of the salty water into the Gulf. The first phase of the project which lies between the city of Nassiriya and the town of Mussayab was completed in 1977. The second phase is now underway. It extends from Nassiriya to Shatt al-Basra down to Khor al-Zubair. This course would make 172-km-long canal.

Land reclamation to desalinize the soil and prepare it for planting is a real challenge in Iraq due to the diversity of soil composition and climate.

The overall area of reclaimed land since the inception of 17-30 July Revolution until April 1985 totalled 1.24 million donums.

The Ministry is, moreover, taking the lead in introducing modern techniques in its projects. Canals are now lined with reinforced concrete to minimize the loss of water. The Ministry has also set a precedence by introducing drip and sprinkler irrigation in Iraq an area of 48,000 donums are now irrigated by sprinkler system while another thousand donums are drip-irrigated.

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BRIEFS

1986 OIL EXPORTS--Iraq plans to double its oil exports within a period not exceeding the end of next year, thus raising the volume of exports to 2 million barrels a day. This is according to the statements made recently by Dr Majid Faraj, the Iraqi minister of planning, to a symposium organized by the Iraqi-German Friendship Society in the German town of Saint Augustine. The Iraqi minister added that his country has been able to overcome the financial obstacles emanating from the drop in the volume of oil exports, thanks to the agreements it has concluded with the participating sides on rescheduling Iraq's foreign financial obligations. The minister revealed that the first pipeline through Saudi territories to Yanbu' Port on the Red Sea will be put into operation shortly at a capacity of 500,000 barrels a day and that this is likely to raise the revenues before next September. The capacity of the Iraqi-Turkish pipeline will also be raised from its current level of 1 million barrels a day to 1.5 million barrels a day before the end of 1986. The Iraqi official assured the German firms operating in Iraq and the other firms wishing to invest there that Iraq is capable of repaying all its obligations. He also welcomed the West German government's decision to resume advancing guarantees for the commercial loans allocated to conclude deals with Iraq. The value of the German exports to Iraq amounted, according to the estimates of the 1984 activity, to nearly 3.4 billion marks, or nearly double the value of Iraq's exports to Germany. Currently, 64 German firms, representing 13 percent of the German firms dealing with Iraq, are currently operating inside Iraq. [Text] [London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 13 Jul 85 p 31] 8494

CSO: 4404/403

ISRAEL

RAFA'EL EYTAN DISCUSSES LEBANON WAR

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 7 Jun 85 pp 16-17

/Chapter from former Chief of Staff Rafa'el Eytan's autobiography, written in cooperation with Dov Goldstein and soon to be brought out by Sifriyat Ma'ariv: "That Is How the Syrians Violated the Ceasefire and Paid the Price For It"/

/Text/ Just after the 1st day of the war, at night, I summoned Bashir to my command post and explained to him the objectives of the war. That was when I told him that the objective was to reach the Beirut-Damascus highway; I also told him that, if possible, we will join up there with the Christians, and--that being the primary purpose of our discussion--that the Christians must not take any initiative on their own, in order to preclude any possibility of their becoming entangled in the fighting and confusing our planned moves. Needless to say, Bashir was very excited. He had been waiting for this day and he understood that without Israel's active help he could never carry out his plan to liberate Lebanon from the occupation of the Syrians and terrorists. At least at that stage, Bashir wanted full and extensive cooperation with us.

Despite all that has happened since then and despite the fact that we can now unequivocally state that the results of the war were, in the last analysis, quite different from Israel's plans and wishes, I would not hesitate to reaffirm that, from Israel's point of view, the Lebanon war was unavoidable. Had Israel not initiated that war, the Arabs would have done so. No thinking person can doubt this. It was only a question of time. One does not stockpile so much weaponry, build such an infrastructure, and build up strength unless one is preparing to go to war. The terrorists had 1 year of ceasefire. Nothing prevented them from building up strength at will. They took advantage of this year and developed their capabilities from all viewpoints. The motivation of the terrorists never changed, only their means changed according to circumstances. The motivation was and remained to destroy Israel and to replace it with a Palestinian state. The terrorist organizations reinforced their political position among the Arabs and in the word. They continuously taunted the Arab countries about their leaders having lost their will to fight and about having agreed to the ceasefire and the disengagement, and, in Egypt's case, to a peace agreement. The terrorists alone were the spearhead of the struggle, faithful to the end to the great idea of Israel's destruction, who would never become reconciled with it. There is strength in such a position. It uplifts the fighters' spirits from the inside and secures the status of the terrorist

organizations among the Arab countries and in the entire world: among Israel's overt enemies, "fair weather" friends, and "neutrals." The idea that only a Palestinian state could end the wars and hatred in the area was gaining ground. The world did not lose any sleep over the question whether the State of Israel could exist "at the side" of a Palestinian state. The world is used to seeing the Jews persecuted, slaughtered, and homeless. Thirty-five years of independence may have been a passing episode, a sort of temporary lull.

We had our theories, and we had information on what the terrorists were planning. They would not have let us live. Once their strength had reached a certain level, they would have acted. They could not have conquered Israel, nor was that their intention. What they wanted was to make our life difficult and to throw it out of kilter through artillery and Katyusha attacks, traffic disruptions, sending teams or units to temporarily seize settlements in the north, killings, and murder. And once we became tired, exhausted, frustrated and bloodied, the hour would come for the Arab countries. First Syria, because this entire plan would have been carried out in cooperation with it, and then the other Arab countries.

Israel would have been forced to go to war in far more difficult conditions and to face incomparably greater quantities of weapons and stronger military positions than in Operation Peace for Galilee. Along this line, the claim that the terrorists would have needed 20 years to cause 600 Israeli casualties is false and is nothing but cheap demagoguery. Twenty years would have been needed in the jungle perhaps, fighting with stones. With their modern weapons, which they were stockpiling in huge quantities, the terrorists could have killed old people, women, and children in frightening numbers. An independent state does not abandon its defenseless people to its enemies' will; it sends its army to eliminate the enemy and it pays the price for the war, albeit with a heavy heart and in anger.

Had we allowed the terrorists to carry out their plots, a 15-20 km strip in the north would have been abandoned by its inhabitants. The people of Qiryat Shemona, Metulla, and Hanita could not bear the burden of the war by themselves, not should they be required to live their life in underground shelters.

We held countless discussions to examine the range of possibilities open to the terrorists, with solid Syrian support, and tried to estimate the damage they could inflict on us if allowed to strengthen and build up their infrastructure, and the only possible conclusion that emerged was that it was Israel's duty to prevent this and to destroy the terrorists before they destroyed us.

This entire plot was being woven in Lebanon, hardly a country and hardly a state, without a central government and incapable of imposing its authority, occupied by the terrorists and Syrians and delivered to their goodwill. Consequently, it was not Lebanon as such that was the target of the war, but the terrorists living there and preparing to go to war against Israel.

There is much talk now about avoidable and unavoidable war. Out of political motivations and out of the over intention to denigrate the government that took the decision on the Lebanon war, some people claim that only an unavoidable

war can have national consensus and agreement, and popular support, while in the case of an avoidable war, national accord is split and the unity is broken. Among all the falsehoods spread by ill-intentioned people, this is the greatest. Of Israel's five wars (the war of independence, the Suez war, the Six Day war, the Yom Kippur war, and the Peace for Galilee operation) only two wars were unavoidable according to this narrow definition: the war of independence--because the Arab countries had decided to destroy Israel upon its establishment and we could not stop them--and the Yom Kippur war, which could have been prevented had we correctly assessed their intentions and prepared to deal with them. The other three wars had been avoidable wars: we could have refrained from starting the Suez war in 1956 and allowed 'Abd-al-Nasir to build up until he was strong enough to attack Israel with Soviet arms. We could have refrained from starting the Six Day war and allowed Egypt to throw the United Nations out of the Sinai and the Gaza Strip, and could have waited for their attack. And we could have refrained from starting the Peace for Galilee operation and waited for the initiative of the terrorists, the Syrians, and others.

According to this distorted, falsified and dangerous assumption, the desirable ideal for Israel is the Yom Kippur war. That was a classic unavoidable war. There was national agreement and no rift among the people. Unity triumphed. The government "succeeded," with great effort, in bringing the IDF and the country to a no-choice situation, and we fought together, in exemplary unity, to save the State of Israel and to remove the danger of defeat from our doors. With the fate of the State of Israel narrowly decided upon the bodies of 3,000 dead and thousands of wounded. That was a no-choice war, and according to this terrifying rule, had the country discerned the great danger in good time, called up the reserves, and deployed the IDF along the borders in full strength, and had it preventively routed the Egyptians and Syrians (if our preparations had not deterred them), then it would have been an unacceptable war, because it would have been an avoidable war, and as such would have affected national agreement; we could have refrained and waited for the enemy's murderous attack.

Had we not fought the terrorists and the Syrians in 1982, we would have been compelled to fight them later, in far worse conditions. Had we fought 1 year earlier, before the July 1981 ceasefire, the war would have been far easier, our losses fewer, and the achievements greater. However, after the destruction of the Iraqi nuclear facility, the government needed a political respite to weather the storm.

In 1982 the Israeli Government did not want an unavoidable war, the price of which is far higher and the difficulties far greater. It was determined to attack the terrorists and to destroy them so that they could not attack Israel. The only question was timing. The IDF never asked the government for permission to enter Lebanon. There was no opposition or difference of views; it was not as if the army and its commanders wanted war and the government was against it. Everything was agreed upon. The government was informed. The decision was clear. The cabinet was presented with various plans at various times before June 1982, when the IDF entered Lebanon. We did not request a decision.

Then came the attack on Ambassador Argov in London. The government decided to bomb the terrorists in their bases. The attack on Ambassador Argov was not a

pretext for the IDF's entry into Lebanon. The government decided to react to the attack because it did not from the beginning accept the interpretation of the terrorists that the ceasefire applied only to the northern border, while anywhere else in the world they were allowed to murder Jews--with the agreement of the Israeli Government. The terrorists reacted fiercely to the bombings, shelling and bombing Qiryat Shemona and other settlements. Only then did we go to the government and say that there was no other possible response but to enter Lebanon and break the terrorists. We had no other way to defend Qiryat Shemona and prevent it from being abandoned. On Saturday evening 5 June 1982, at the house of the prime minister in Jerusalem, we presented the "great plan" to the cabinet. The cabinet approved it. This plan clearly included a fact that was later disputed and became the subject of ill-intentioned controversies: occupation of a portion of the Beirut-Damascus highway. The map we showed the ministers featured arrows clearly pointing out our intention; the arrows reached to the Beirut-Damascus highway.

We never presented the ministers with a plan or intention to occupy Beirut. And it was not that deep down in our hearts we wanted to and kept our intentions secret from the ministers. We did not want to. It was not a part of any IDF plan. We explained to the Christians, too, at every opportunity, that we had no such intentions. Beirut, we told them, is not in our plans, so do not have any illusions on this account. We did not figure that if we joined up with the Christians, the terrorists would surrender or evacuate Beirut, but we clearly told the Christians that occupying Beirut was not our affair or objective.

There were three other important topics in connection with which the ministers requested answers to questions that were bothering them. The first, whether the plan would involve military confrontation with Syria. We could not promise that the Syrians would sit quietly, and did not say so to the government. The assumption was that they might interfere, and that was expressed in the government's decision. We would not initiate a confrontation with the Syrians and would not be the first to attack them. Any clash would be avoided, but should they intervene, the IDF would take due action.

The second question to which the ministers requested an answer was: what would be the duration of the operation? I replied that, in my estimation, the IDF would need a few days to reach the Beirut-Damascus highway. However, I added that we had no way of estimating the extent of Syrian interference, if it should come, and that the intensity and scope of Syrian intervention were decisive factors for estimating the duration.

The third and most humane question of the ministers concerned estimated IDF casualties. I refused to answer this question. I have always refrained from dealing with this difficult question, as a matter of principle. I do not remember any of my predecessors answering such a question, although it always troubled us. A commanding officer cannot concern himself with this question. I have often been questioned by the government, in connection with various topics, about this matter, and I always refused to give estimates.

The plan to reach the Beirut-Damascus highway was not concealed from the IDF commanders. Whoever claims today that he did not know and though we were

dealing with limited objectives, does nothing but prattle. Perhaps someone forgot the orders and targets, or perhaps had other motives--of which I am not aware--for going to the media with statements bearing no resemblance to the truth.

Equally unfounded are claims that unclear targets and objectives delayed the IDF, and that had the targets been defined from the beginning, so that the troops did not need to wait for permission from political factors to carry out military operations, the IDF would have attained its objectives faster. There were no delays on the political side. No military operations were prohibited by political factors. The government was under tremendous pressure to agree to a ceasefire on Friday, after the 1st week of the war. The government had its reasons for meeting the U.S. request, and gave its agreement. If it had not been for the necessity to agree to a ceasefire at that time, the IDF would have completed its objective--reaching the Beirut-Damascus highway--on Saturday, 6 days after the first tank crossed into Lebanon, and exactly according to the estimate I had given the government the previous Saturday.

The government decision and the general staff's instructions to the commanding officers never stipulated how many kilometers the military operation was to be extended--not 45, not 40, not more, and not less than that. The decision was to destroy the terrorists and to remove the artillery fire from the northern border. The maps I presented to the cabinet members on Saturday evening contained no definition of distance in kilometers. They featured arrows pointing to the Beirut-Damascus highway. Similarly, the claim that the ministers perhaps did not understand the detailed explanations and did not see the maps or the arrows, thus assuming that it was a matter of 40 or 45 km, is also without foundation. Things were clear, and the ministers understood very well. The meeting was not a great emergency meeting, was not held under time pressure, nor was the tension so great that things could become confused. It was an emotional discussion, fitting the nature of the topic, but there was enough time to hear, to ask, and to understand. It is important to dispel another lie that was spread in Israel and found willing ears in the world, namely, that the IDF, or the defense minister, or I had lied to the cabinet that we did not plan to attack the Syrians, but that later we provoked them, forced them to act, then hit them, all in accordance with a prior plan. Nothing of the sort. There is not one word of truth in that. We intended to act exactly as we told the cabinet: the Syrians were not the target of the war. We did not go into Lebanon to attack them. We did all we could to avoid any confrontation with them, and we did not provoke them.

If the Syrians had wanted to avoid clashes with the IDF, the war would have ended without the IDF and the Syrian Army exchanging even one shot. However, as we told the cabinet ministers, we could not be certain of what the Syrians would do, and the decision was clear: if they attacked the IDF, the IDF would act accordingly. The Syrians interfered in the war from the very 1st day, and certainly from the 2d. In the air they interfered all the time, even before the war. That was usual and expected, and we could have dealt with it. Even when we approached the missile sites in al-Biqa' and a difficult situation appeared for our air force actions, we still did not see it as reason enough to go from air battles into any other confrontation with the Syrians. But the

Syrians were not satisfied. Even on the 2d day of the war, they opened artillery fire and killed one of our soldiers. We held back for two reasons: the Syrians may have been going through the motions, so as not to be accused of having done nothing while Israel was acting against the terrorists; and it was possible that the guns were manned by terrorists within the Syrian positions.

However, on the 3d day of the war all doubts were dispelled and it became clear that the Syrians had decided to fight in order to prevent us from attaining our target, i.e., reaching the Beirut-Damascus highway. The same day, one of our forces was moving northward on top of the mountain toward the highway. We received information that a Syrian tank formation was moving toward our troops' axis west of Jazzin, on the mountain road. Photographs confirmed that Syrian tanks were galloping at great speed toward Jazzin. The formation was coming from al-Biq'a', via the Qir'awn basin, and approaching Jazzin. The defense minister was in Jerusalem. I called him and told him what was happening. I explained that if the Syrian force reached Jazzin, we would be in a bad situation and would have many difficulties. The support structure of the company was spread in the area of movement of the Syrian force, and long columns were moving on the narrow, crowded road. I asked the defense minister for permission to put the air force into action against the Syrian tanks moving toward Jazzin. Permission was given. The airplanes attacked the Syrian convoy and held it up. At the same time, we sent a tank formation to Jazzin to meet any Syrian tanks that had escaped our planes and were continuing on their way. Indeed, Syrian T62 tanks did arrive in Jazzin and were destroyed by our tanks in the first tank battle of the war between the IDF and the Syrian Army.

Two questions had to be resolved in the evening of that same day: one concerned deployment and the other operations. After studying all the situations and possibilities, it became clear to us that after the armor battle, Syrian intervention had become unavoidable and was to be reckoned with in all further operations. And if that was the case, the Syrian missile deployment in al-Biq'a' was to be attacked, otherwise our aircraft would be vulnerable and their maneuvering power would be dangerously reduced. There were different opinions as to when to attack the missiles. The defense minister claimed: Immediately! I was against it. That was a complex and difficult operation that required very detailed planning, like laboratory work: a whole process from A to Z, and no detail could be overlooked. We had had a negative experience with missiles in the Yom Kippur war, when circumstances forced our air force planes to attack an antiaircraft missile site.

The defense minister went to Jerusalem and asked the cabinet's permission to attack the missiles, with a view to securing absolute superiority in the field and complete freedom of action in the air. The missiles deprived us of those two factors, or at least greatly limited us. The cabinet authorized the destruction of the missiles, and the operation was decided for Wednesday at 1400. The previous day I had opposed the operation and explained to the defense minister that we had to refrain and hold back. The air force was not prepared for a drastic, precise, and stunning surgical strike, without the slightest scratch to any of our planes. The Syrians immediately began to agitate for a ceasefire. And once again began the recurring process in every Middle East war and battle: the moment an Arab country suffers a heavy defeat, the world

wakes up and imposes a ceasefire on us, so that we cannot complete our objective and reap the fruits of our advantage. The Syrians were once again successful, and the ceasefire was imposed and set for Friday at noon. The terrorists who were still left escaped to Beirut and its suburbs. We held the entire coastal plain. We dealt with the pockets of terrorists left behind the front lines in various places.

There is no point today in trying to answer the question, what would have happened and in what direction would things have developed if the Syrians had observed the ceasefire declared on Friday at noon, on the 6th day of the war. After 2 days of fighting against Syrian positions prior to the ceasefire, the Syrian deployment in the Lebanon valley collapsed. No Syrian obstacle was left standing against our troops on the mountain crest; the IDF had no difficulty in reaching the Beirut-Damascus highway in a short time. I was at the front, in the eastern sector of al-Biq'a' when the prime minister's telephone caught up with me. His voice sounded worried and tinged with sorrow and helplessness when explaining to me that U.S. pressure on Israel to agree to the ceasefire was intensifying, and that the government was acquiescing. It was clear to both of us that, as in the past, the familiar process was recurring: as long as the IDF was hitting the terrorists, everyone was going through the motions of expressing protest and no one made any serious move to save them, but when the army of an Arab country was squeezed into a difficult position, there was a rush to rescue it. On the same Friday, 3 hours only remained between the IDF and the Beirut-Damascus highway, but in political circumstances 3 short hours can mean as much as 3 days, 3 weeks or 3 months--when there is no choice but to agree to a ceasefire.

Naturally, I did not try to argue with the prime minister. There was no point and it was not my job to do so. I asked for a ½ hour delay to complete an operation in the field, which was approved. Once the ceasefire was in force, we did not intend to provoke the Syrians with a view to breaking them and dragging them into war and thus carrying our plans to completion. On the same occasion, the prime minister asked me how far the IDF was from Metulla. I said, about 45 km, that is, at the time Metulla was out of artillery range. "If we must, then we must," I said at the end of my talk with the prime minister.

In two places the IDF was very close to the Beirut-Damascus highway: at Dar al-Baydar, on the mountain crest opposite the Biqa', and in the eastern suburbs of Beirut.

With the enactment of the ceasefire, I decided--after consulting with the defense minister and with his full support--on stringent rules to enforce it. They were communicated to the media and were intended for Syrian ears: this time there would be no recurrence of old-style ceasefires. There would be no war of attrition on the Israeli-Syrian border. We would not allow the Syrians to lay down the rules, and would not allow ourselves to be dragged into their intentions and plans. The definition of the ceasefire was simple: if the Syrians observed it, we would, too. If the Syrians violated it, it no longer existed. If the Syrians fired artillery guns, we were not obligated to reply in kind. They would not decide the rules. If the Syrians violated the ceasefire we were free to act as if it did not exist. We were in no way obligated to react to

a ceasefire violation with means, ways, and scopes convenient to the Syrians. We would react in ways and places of our own choice, according to our considerations. In short: the Syrians open fire, we move; the Syrians shell, we advance and use our advantage in the field to secure additional targets.

Hence, it was clear to the Syrians that they would not be the ones to decide the conditions of the war if they violated the ceasefire, which they needed to save themselves, and which halted our rapid advance toward the Beirut-Damascus highway. I let them know, through the media, what the "game rules" were: you may open fire in the eastern extremity of the front, and we may move in the western extremity, or the other way round; everything will go according to our considerations, needs and convenience.

I cannot assume that the Syrians did not understand. They did understand, but perhaps they did not take it to heart, or thought that in case of need somebody would come to their rescue. Be that as it may, they violated the ceasefire; they did, not we. What was said after the fact--that we provoked them, or that we led them by the nose and forced them to reopen fire (to my regret, even ministers voiced such false theories)--has nothing to do with the truth. We did not drag them, lead them by the nose, or provoke them. We observed the ceasefire. The Syrians violated it and we carried out our warnings: we took a section of the Beirut-Damascus highway.

Along the Nasuriyah-Bahamdun-'Alayh-Dar al-Baydar axis leading to the Beirut-Damascus highway, Wadi Saha served as the ceasefire line between the two armies. That is where the Syrians most clearly and unmistakably violated the ceasefire: A rocket was fired on one of our APC's that was patrolling on the Israeli side of the ceasefire line. One soldier was injured. We knew that the attackers were terrorists, but this fact did not count with us. The line itself and the ceasefire agreement were the responsibility of the Syrians. We had ignored previous violations, but this violation was unacceptable. With the permission of the defense minister, we advanced along this axis and arrived at the Beirut-Damascus highway. That was the move that decided the fate of the war. Had it not been for that move, and had we not reached the highway, the Syrians and the terrorists would have stayed in Beirut with their entire infrastructure and with all their command posts, and would have turned the war into an Arab victory. But they possess the greatest skill in the world for turning a military defeat into a political victory.

The Syrians paid the price because they ignored the clear statements and declarations we aired openly and publicly. They had learned from the past that a ceasefire has two purposes: To rescue them from defeat, and to allow them to rally their forces and then dictate the renewal of the war on their terms. This assumption also says that the Jews are decent, they observe the ceasefire, then oblige the Arabs by agreeing to a war of attrition, in conditions dictated by the Arabs. The Jews also tend to become divided after the fact, and to carry on endless discussions over whether it was the Arab side who violated the ceasefire, how we should have reacted to it, and whether the scope of the reaction did not exceed the limits of decency. This time we laid down the rules and the Syrians were left wondering how come we refused to play their game, according to their rules.

/Box on p 17/ How 'Arafat Was Saved

Just how careful we were not to hurt civilians can be seen from the following fact: several times we could have killed Yasir 'Arafat, and at times we wanted to. We knew exactly where he was and our planes could have bombed the house and its inhabitants. 'Arafat could not possibly have escaped such a bombing. However, 'Arafat had chosen his hiding places carefully: houses filled with civilians. He knew better than many Israelis that the air force does not destroy inhabited houses and that our pilots would not hurt women and children in order to kill him. At a later stage, 'Arafat appeared in the crossed hairs of one of our snipers. The distance was right. It would have been a sure shot. I was there. Through the binoculars I saw one of Israel's most implacable enemies. The sniper was waiting for a word from me. A slight nod would have sufficed. I wanted to. But I said: "No!" The sniper lowered his gun. At that time, Israel had committed itself not to hurt the terrorists who were evacuating. Israel had to keep its word. That was the reason that we did not sink the ships which were evacuating the terrorists from Beirut. Sinking them would have been no problem, if it had not been for the commitment Israel had assumed.

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GENERAL LAHD DISCUSSES OCCUPATION OF JAZZIN

Beirut AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 8-14 Jul 85 pp 21-22

[Interview with Maj Gen Antoine Lahd, commander of the South Lebanon Army, by Antun Abu Khalil: "Lahd to AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI: No Fear for Jazzin, and I Am Not Israeli Functionary; Originally, Israel Preferred That I Not Hold Jazzin Area But Decision on This Issue Is Lebanese Decision with Which Israel Has Nothing To Do"]

[Text] "There is no fear for Jazzin" is what Maj Gen Antoine Lahd said in an interview with AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI, pledging to stand "firmly to defend Jazzin at any cost."

When I repeated my questions on the fate of its inhabitants, he answered with a firm "military" tone: "You are asking me about a problem that does not exist in my area."

He added that he is against the 1st Brigade because this brigade is incapable of protecting the Jazzin area and that he is against the entry of any army similar to the army that entered the Sidon area.

He also expressed the hope that the state will not send its army to the Jazzin area without coordinating with him, or "else, a clash will occur."

He further said: "I do coordinate with Israel but I am not a functionary of the Israeli government. In matters concerning the Lebanese interest, we do not accept anybody's opposition. The decision on the Jazzin issue is a Lebanese decision with which Israel has nothing to do."

Following is the text of the interview conducted with Major General Lahd at his command headquarters in Marj'uyun:

[Question] You are accused of implementing Israel's scheme to evict the Jazzin area inhabitants. What is your response to this accusation?

[Answer] I don't know where these accusations come from. Does defending the Jazzin area and keeping its inhabitants in their homes mean eviction? Those who attack the Jazzin area, not those who defend it, are the ones seeking to evict its inhabitants.

[Question] What was the objective of the military operation carried out by units of the South Lebanon Army on the Kafr Falus front?

[Answer] Some armed elements were harassing a number of the South Lebanon Army positions with their continuous firing at the front line. We were forced to carry out a preemptive operation to silence those elements.

[Question] Will the Jazzin area remain remote from the political and military interactions in the local and regional arenas and will there be emigration from this area?

[Answer] I don't know why the Jazzin issue is exaggerated internally, regionally and internationally. You can ask who is behind the interactions pertaining to the issue of this area or of whatever remains of Jazzin area. As for us, the issue is one of defending this area so that its inhabitants may stay in it, so that they may not be exposed to eviction like the inhabitants of East Sidon and other areas and so that they may live in freedom and reassurance. To me, this is the issue of Jazzin, nothing more and nothing less.

[Question] What are the actual guarantees that Jazzin will not be subjected to a military operation by some radical factions?

[Answer] They tried some time ago to reach Jazzin but the South Lebanon Army repelled them. I hope that they will not try again because their lot will be the same as it was in the first attempt. The South Lebanon Army has the force to defend Jazzin and this force is determined to confront the aggressors wherever they come from. Let those who don't believe this try.

First Brigade

[Question] Why have you rejected the deployment of the 1st Brigade of the Lebanese army in the Jazzin area as it has been deployed in Western al-Biqa'?

[Answer] We have not rejected deployment of the 1st Brigade in the area. However, we want a legitimate and strong force capable of protecting this area. Until further notice, this force does not exist. The 1st Brigade is incapable of protecting this area.

[Question] Do you expect the East Sidon experience to recur in case you agree to withdraw from Jazzin and agree to the deployment of the Lebanese army in the area?

[Answer] I will not agree to the introduction into Jazzin of a Lebanese army similar to the army which entered Sidon area.

[Question] Is the continued presence of the South Lebanon Army in Jazzin a personal initiative on your part and what are the motives for it?

[Answer] It is a decision made by me and by the South Lebanon Army. This decision is based on the wishes of the inhabitants of Jazzin. The motives are extremely simple, namely to safeguard the dignity of this area and to

prevent eviction from it. This is a sufficient reason for the South Lebanon Army to stay in the area.

[Question] What will be the position of Jazzin's leaders toward the presence of the South Lebanon Army in case the area is subjected to military operations?

[Answer] You can ask them about this.

[Question] Do you expect a confrontation to occur between the Lebanese army and the South Lebanon Army in case the legitimate government insists on the entry of the legitimate army's units to Jazzin by force?

[Answer] I hope that no clash will develop between the Lebanese army and the South Lebanon Army. If the state is determined to send an army to the Jazzin area without coordination and without making sure that the force dispatched has all the capabilities to protect the area, then a clash will be inevitable.

[Question] Will the South Lebanon Army units be able to control security in the areas in which they are deployed now that some circles have declared continuation of the military operations against this army?

[Answer] I believe that the South Lebanon Army has sufficient force to protect security in the areas in which it is deployed.

Return of Evacuees by Force

[Question] Is it true that some Shi'ite villages, especially in Jabal al-Rihan area, are subjected to military operations carried out by the South Lebanon Army to force their inhabitants to leave the area?

[Answer] Our objective is to protect the Lebanese living in our area, regardless of the sect to which they belong. However, there are some villages that are tantamount to launching bases for military acts hostile to the South Lebanon Army forces. It is natural for us to retaliate militarily against such villages. If these villages are to be protected, their inhabitants must not facilitate the acts of the elements operating against the South Lebanon Army.

[Question] Some political circles find it possible that the South Lebanon Army will embark on a military operation to return the evacuees to their villages in East Sidon. How true are these expectations?

[Answer] There is no doubt that efforts must be made to return these evacuees to their villages in one way or another. We hope that they will be returned to their villages peacefully. If such efforts fail, then it will be necessary to resort to military means.

[Question] What is the percentage of Muslims enrolled in the South Lebanon Army and what is the extent of the influence of the hostile calls and positions of some leaders on such enrollment?

[Answer] The percentage is enough to make one say that the South Lebanon Army is not a Christian army. There is considerable interest among the Shi'ites and the Druze in enrollment in this army. The political influence of the leaders is not big, except on those who have connections with areas in which the South Lebanon Army is not deployed. Thus, some people refrain from enrolling out of consideration for this reality.

[Question] Numerous families living in Jazzin have rented homes in the border strip area. What are the motives for such a step?

[Answer] Some people are undoubtedly afraid of the shelling of or similar activities. However, the majority of Jazzin's inhabitants are present in Jazzin. Even some of the evacuees from Sidon and al-Kharrub District are still present in the area.

[Question] What is the justification of the constant emigration of evacuees from the Jazzin area to Beirut?

[Answer] There is such a large number of evacuees that the area cannot absorb all of them. It is normal for some of them to leave for Beirut.

I Am Not Israeli Functionary

[Question] What if the Israeli officials ask Maj Gen Antoine Lahd to withdraw the South Lebanon Army units existing beyond the security belt, i.e., from the Jazzin area?

[Answer] Originally, the Israelis preferred that the South Lebanon Army not hold this area. But in whatever matters concern the Lebanese interest, we accept nobody's opposition. I, Antoine Lahd, am not a functionary of the Israeli government. Yes, I do coordinate with the Israelis. But the decision on the Jazzin issue is a Lebanese decision with which Israel has nothing to do.

Influence of Amal Movement

[Question] Does Amal Movement's position toward the South Lebanon Army lead to a drop in the percentage of the Shi'ite volunteers in this army?

[Answer] I have already stated that the South Lebanon Army is strong enough to establish security and that there is no fear for the security of the areas in which this army exists, be they Druze, Shi'ite or joint areas, by virtue of the fact that the South Lebanon Army works, as all the inhabitants know, for the security of this area. This army enjoys popular support from all the factions, excluding a minority that acts on orders from outside the area and, in some cases, from outside Lebanon.

[Question] Has the eviction of Christians from Western al-Biqa', specifically from the villages of Mashgharah, Saghbin and Kafarayya, motivated the Jazzin area inhabitants to cling to the South Lebanon Army and to what extent do Jazzin's leaders support this tendency?

[Answer] The eviction of Christians from Western al-Biqā', the eviction activities that have taken place in the other areas and the inability of the state to establish security in the areas where it is present have contributed greatly to the adherence of the Jazzin area inhabitants to the South Lebanon Army because this army has proven practically its ability to protect them and to safeguard their security and dignity.

[Question] You said in a previous statement that if the Lebanese army comes via western al-Biqā', you will hit it without consulting with Israel and that if it comes via al-Shuf, then coordination must be established with the Israelis in this regard. What are the reasons for this position?

[Answer] The Israelis have nothing to do with the Jazzin area which is beyond the security belt. The decision to repel the Lebanese army, whether it comes from the direction of Mashgharah or the direction of al-Shuf, depends on the command of the South Lebanon Army and on the area inhabitants only.

[Question] What should we say to the sons of the Jazzin area and to those who fear for its future?

[Answer] There should be no fear for Jazzin militarily.

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JAZZIN SAID TO BE MAJOR OBSTACLE TO SOLUTION

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 13 Jul 85 p 19

[Article by Joseph Qusayfi: "While Israel Tries To Separate Southern Shi'ites From al-Biqa' Shi'ites, Jazzin Remains Thin Thread Between Unity and Fragmentation; Situation in South Is Subject to Political and Military Changes; To President Amin al-Jumayyil, Fall of Jazzin Means Partition of Entity"]

[Text] Beirut--"Jazzin, or Thorn Sticking in Side of Solution" is the title under which the ambassador of a major power has written a report to his government summing up the situation in this part of South Lebanon.

The report cites statements made by President Amin al-Jumayyil on 9 June to a group of journalists who visited him at his summer residence in Bakfayya--statements that "Jazzin represents the thin thread separating Lebanon's unity from its disintegration or, to put it more precisely, separating coexistence from the breakup of the entity. The fall of this area will mean the disappearance of the Christian presence from the area south of the Damascus highway to the international border with Israel. This means partition of the entity itself."

The report states that the situation in the south is subject to political and military changes and that it is wrong to believe that the Israeli government is implementing a clear strategy to confront this situation, adding that "Israel is carrying out steps compatible with the situation on the ground and leaving the door open to all possibilities. Israel seeks to absorb all situations and its objective behind this is to withdraw from Lebanon politically and militarily while insuring what it calls the minimum degree for the security of its borders prior to reassessing its relations with all the Lebanese factions from the various sects in the light of its experience in the period from 1975 to 1983 and in the light of the disappointments and frustrations it has reaped as a result of the collapse of this experience with the Christians, of its shakiness with the Druze and of its failure to achieve the promised peace with the Shi'ites."

The latest information contained in the report says that Israel "wants to maintain the South Lebanon Army as a buffer obstructing communication between the southern Shi'ites and al-Biqa' Shi'ites because security in the south can be controlled through the local militias that are now in charge of this

security. Israel is motivated to behave in this manner by the fear that any military operation against Israel may result in reactions whose price will again be paid by the south and the southerners. As for al-Biqa' Shi'ites, they have not been able to penetrate the siege of radicalism struck around them or the so-called brainwashing acts that transform them into radicals. The infiltration of these Shi'ites to the south is likely to create problems for Israel and troubles for the southerners and to restore the situation prevalent before the Israeli invasion of Lebanon on 6 June 1982."

The report cites several tangible examples regarding the situation in Jazzin, saying: "This tendency on the part of the Israelis has urged them to hand over to Maj Gen Antoine Lahd all the hills overlooking Jazzin and Mashgharah and to bolster the South Lebanon Army's positions with sophisticated heavy weapons, including Merkava tanks, 155-mm artillery batteries, 130-mm guns and early warning systems. Despite all this, it must be noted that elements of the South Lebanon Army lack combat and technical capabilities and skills, not to mention their small numbers in comparison with the area they guard, especially since a distance of 50 minutes by car separates Jazzin and Marj 'Uyun, with the road between them passing through deep ravines and numerous high hills that are difficult to control in a manner that eliminates danger from Israel's northern borders."

The report adds, therefore, that "Israel finds itself compelled to return to the Jazzin area militarily from time to time, as made evident by the fact that it established for itself a short time ago a position on Maydun hill which overlooks the Kafr Hawnah-Mashgharah-'Ayn al-Tinah road and the positions of the 1st Brigade of the Lebanese Army and the fact that they, meaning the Israeli forces, are the forces which have shelled the positions of the said brigade."

The report finds that all the given facts indicate that there is no desire to settle the Jazzin issue soon because the Israeli government has not yet made its decision on the question of linking Jazzin with the security belt and to the agreement on the security arrangements--arrangements on which UN mediation between Tel Aviv and Beirut has failed to reach a solution. Thus, the issue remains "pending" while awaiting the determination of the final options on the border strip.

The report further says: "Israel does not insist on Lahd's staying in Jazzin and it wants him in the border area, especially in the Christian sector. However, it has respected Lahd's insistence on maintaining the security of the area and of its inhabitants. But Israel will display no opposition if Jazzin comes under the control of Syria."

The report adds that "foreign correspondents visited the southern border area, interviewed a number of Israeli military officers stationed in al-'Ayshiyah, Marj 'Uyun and al-Naqurah and have attributed to these officers the statement that 'Syria knows its limits and has never crossed the red line,' citing as an example the south before 1982 and Western al-Biqa' and the Golan currently. Also citing these officers, the correspondents added:

'If Syria insures Jazzin's security and gains full control in this area, it will certainly observe the international obligations.'

The report reveals that a meeting was held recently between Jazzin Deputy Edmond Rizq and two envoys of Minister Walid Junblatt, namely 'Atif Sallum and Mahmud Safi. Minister Junblatt's envoys told Deputy Rizq that Junblatt agrees to the entry of a joint force of the 1st and 7th Brigades to Jazzin, that he opposes the entry of a battalion from a single sectarian group to the area and that he supports the presence of a force consisting mainly of Christians in the town if this reassures its inhabitants. The envoys also told the deputy that Junblatt has no objection if the force to be stationed at the point separating al-Shuf from Jazzin near Batir crossing is also comprised of Christians.

The report's writer attributed this change on the part of Junblatt "to the wish not to provide the opportunity for surrounding al-Shuf's southern borders by Shi'ite or radical Islamic forces so as to avert any friction or any sensitivities which may be provoked by a third party seeking to touch off the contradictions existing in the southern arena and its vicinity, thus confronting Lebanon face to face with an open Islamic sectarian conflict. Meanwhile, the presence of a symbolic Christian force on al-Shuf's borders will secure the mainstay of moral steadfastness for Jazzin's people, who are not reassured of their fate amidst the conflicting regional winds in Lebanon.

"This force will only secure moral steadfastness because the supply line is under the control of all the factions and because the current Christian situation in Lebanon in general and in the south in particular does not permit the Christians to have expansionist aspirations and because the aspirations of Jazzin's Christians do not exceed in this phase the framework of maintaining minimal borders."

Concluding, the report says: "While the Lebanese Forces warn that tackling the Jazzin issue in the same manner in which the East Sidon issue was tackled promises no imminent salvation, and that while the Israelis try to determine the relationship of Jazzin's land to the security belt for which they are working and while the regime exerts active efforts through the international and regional channels to disengage this southern town from foreign influences, Jazzin remains the hostage of the Regional Council, a bone of contention between the Israeli and Syrian fingers and a thorn sticking in the side of the solution."

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NASIRITE LEADER CRITICIZES BEIRUT MILITIAS, AMAL'S ACTIONS

Beirut AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 8-14 Jul 85 pp 12-14

[Interview with Kamal Shatila, leader of Union of Working People's Forces-Nasirite Organization: "Kamal Shatila to AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI: We Reject Security of Militias in Beirut; Beirut Is Invincible Stronghold in Face of Israeli Partitionist Scheme; Shi'ite Political Decision Making Is in Hands of Adventurous Faction Carrying Out Suicidal Plan for Sect"]

[Text] Paris--Kamal Shatila, leader of the Union of the Working People's Forces-Nasirite Organization and chairman of the Popular Conference of Islamic and National Forces in Lebanon, was the man who launched the call for a strike in West Beirut on 21 June 1985 against the "party security" and for the liberties. It is true that his courage has been coupled with his presence abroad. However, his call for the strike actually dates to the post-Lausanne conference period (March) and has proven the fruitfulness of "underground" organizational action. Moreover, the man finds no pleasure whatsoever in his exile in Paris and his sole concern is to return to Beirut in whose political street he has spent all his life as a student, a teacher, a writer and the son of a middle-class family who has not yet paid the cost of the house he purchased from a relative.

AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI interviewed him in Paris and inquired of him about the strike's circumstances and objectives. Shatila was careful not to transform what he called the 21 June uprising into a needling of Amal Movement or into a mere tour in a political struggle which he does not want to see become a Sunna-Shi'ite struggle but rather the start of a battle for serious security for Beirut that can then be spread to the other areas, without usurping the capital's role in Lebanese decision making.

For Liberties

[Question] The call for the 21 June strike and the response it received surprised many people. You issued the call for the strike, so what are its circumstances?

[Answer] In the wake of Amal Movement's deviation from the objective of 6 February 1984, embodied in eliminating Phalangist domination in the interest of a national unification plan and of fortifying the national arena

against Israeli penetrations, and after Amal's release of its militias in Beirut in an attempt to set up a separate racist entity complementing the cantons existing before and after the invasion, attention had to be drawn and we drew it and a warning had to be voiced and we voiced it. I recall that I said in a press statement on 24 March 1984 that we would call for a strike if the loss of security persisted and if the role of the unity-oriented Beirut participating in Lebanese general decision making continued to be ignored. But all our words fell on the deaf ears of the drunken heads. At the end of April 1985, I declared in another press statement that we were preparing for civil disobedience to topple the security of the Beirut militias in the interest of liberties. We were not, of course, expressing those positions just in our name as an organization or just in the name of the Popular Conference of the Islamic and National Forces. We have always expressed in our positions the victims of the excesses and the people's bitterness as a result of this unjustifiable factional domination and of the abnormal actions committed against the security of the country, the citizen and the public liberties with all their political, informational and religious meanings.

This is why the strike was no surprise at all. The word "surprise" reminds me of 26 April 1972 when we waged a crushing election campaign in Beirut and when the number of voters supporting our candidate amounted to 32,000 votes, not to mention the "omitted" votes. They said at the time that it was a surprise because they were far from what was happening underground and far from the people's sentiments. The surprise does not lie in the eruption of the popular uprising on 21 June but in the people's patience and steadfastness throughout this period in the face of this bloody terror committed against them--patience and steadfastness in the hope of a reform that has not happened.

Within Framework of Partition

[Question] What has happened to Beirut and what more can happen to it?

[Answer] Sixty thousand martyrs have fallen in the 10 years of the Lebanon war for the sake of "Lebanon's unity and Arabism." The question that has dictated itself since 6 February is: Do those who dominate the management of the struggle in the Lebanese arena consider these sharp sectarian divisions and these separatist denominational military entities capable of safeguarding the objectives for which the martyrs have fallen? How can a faction be with Lebanon's unity and, at the same time, create for itself a separatist entity carved out of this unity? How can one be with Lebanon's Arabism while digging up the entire racist legacy in the Arab area to ladle out of it whatever helps him to confront Arabism and Islam? This situation raises anew the question: Who is the nationalist? Can one who is loyal to Zionism at the expense of his national loyalty and one who helps the partition, which is fundamentally and originally a declared Israeli scheme, be a nationalist? Is the nationalist one who fights Lebanon's Arabism culturally, politically and socially from factional positions or one who turns a completely blind eye to Lebanon's complementary and organic bond with the

Arab nation? Can one be with Lebanon's unity from a separatist or a racist position?

All this motivates us to ask anew: What does Israel want of Lebanon? There is one criterion of victory for the peoples rebelling against Zionism, imperialism and subservience, namely to define what the enemy wants in order to make sure we are prepared to defeat his objectives. It is no longer a secret to the observer of the statements of the Israeli leaders and of the studies of the Hebrew Institute in Jerusalem that the Israeli plan in Lebanon and the Arab area--a plan exposed by (Odeh Benon), a Jewish writer--is based on Israel refraining from dealing with Lebanon as a people and on Israel attaching the fuse to and establishing the policy for all denominational shrapnel and every sectarian bomb. This does not mean that most of the Lebanese move on this badwagon but means that some of them are implementing this scheme. Moreover, Israel does not believe that there is an Arab identity but considers Arabism and Islam in the area a form of colonialism.

This is why exploding the Lebanese arena with sectarian conflicts that are doomed to a partitionist outcome is Israel's inlet to exploding the entire Arab world on the same basis. It is not true that the Zionists are focusing only on establishing a Maronite national homeland in Lebanon. During Israel's occupation of Lebanon and after its departure from a part of Lebanon, it has become evident that Israel is prepared to reach an understanding with every denominational or sectarian faction to supply it with all the prerequisites of establishing a separatist entity on the debris of Lebanon's unity and of Arabism.

Invincible Stronghold

But because Beirut is the capital, because its people are open-minded people and do not suffer from minority feelings, because national coexistence with its social, economic, religious and intellectual meanings has been embodied in Beirut's arena and because it has been turned into an arena for public liberties and a podium for the Arab cultural renaissance, this Beirut has formed an invincible stronghold in the face of the Israeli scheme at a time when sectarian and denominational separation has spread in most parts of Lebanon. Beirut, despite its wounds that have not been dressed since the Zionists invaded it, has continued to embrace the national concern and the pan-Arab wound and has insisted, while nearly disarmed (because when the Israeli enemy invaded more than half of Lebanon, he disarmed Beirut and left the weapons with the others), on being no less heroic than the Arab coastal cities and the steadfast villages which confronted the Byzantine, Crusader and Tatar invasions. Beirut has found out that it has been put in such a big prison that the militia commanders, having perpetrated whatever they have perpetrated, have come to think that it is compelled to capitulate by virtue of the comprehensive blockade imposed on it since the invasion and until now.

But Beirut has its historical motives and it has not capitulated to the tyrants, even though many have said that it has nothing more to lose. In more than one historic uprising it has staged, Beirut has not taken into consideration computer science of the so-called balance of forces. The truth is

that Beirut is rich with the seriousness of its nationalism, Arabism and faith and it truly reflects the majority of the Lebanese who are suffering from the domination of the multi-shaped separatist form of security imposed on them. Beirut staged its uprising of 21 June to declare the true beginning of the demolition of the shackles. The pro-Arab Lebanese have not capitulated to the separatist current in the eastern part of Beirut. This current has taken up hostility to the Arabs and Arabism as a profession. Can there be capitulation to those who take up hostility to the Arabs and Arabism as a profession, even if they hide behind the mask of religion and nationalism?

[Question] Don't you think that what is happening in Beirut is a Sunna-Shi'ite conflict?

[Answer] The contradictions between Hizballah and Amal Movement; the displeasure of Beirut's Ja'fari mufti with the actions of Amal Movement; the position of Muhammad Hasan al-Amin, Sidon's Shi'ite mufti, toward us, which is a positive position; the appreciation of Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din for our struggle; the fact that 50 percent of the inhabitants of the southern suburb responded to the 21 June strike, initiated on our call; our struggle throughout 20 years to defend without any discrimination the dispossessed Lebanese; the organizational structure of our union on the basis of unity, nationalism and faith; the martyrdom of brother Ahmad Bulaybil, the first struggler in the national arena to fall martyr while confronting the Zionist enemy in the south in 1975; our linking the road between Jubayl and Ra's Ba'labakk in 1978; and my speech in the name of the demonstrators who had come to the steadfastness summit conference in Damascus to demand an investigation into the disappearance of Imam Musa al-Sadr--all these facts prove that when we turn with our struggle to topple the security of the militias generally and Amal leadership's domination of Beirut especially, then we do not speak in the name of only the pro-unity Sunna people but also in the name of all the pro-unity Shi'ite people who reject concentration of Shi'ite political decision making in the hands of an adventurous faction that has a suicidal plan for the Shi'ite sect and that emulates the racist approach of hostility to Arabism and Islam that has been embraced in the eastern area since 1976. There is, moreover, the enthusiastic participation of West Beirut's Christians in the uprising-strike and the support for our call and our message by the pro-unity members of the other sects. This support goes beyond the framework of any sectarian boundaries. Generally, the Sunna environment is not qualified for and does not want to establish a separatist canton similar to the other cantons.

Confrontation Is Criterion

[Question] Some people have interpreted the strike within the framework of the inter-Arab conflicts, or rather within the framework of the Syrian-Saudi conflict.

[Answer] Let me refer you to the statements issued by the Central Committee of the Union of the Working People's Forces from 1980 until the present. These statements express the belief that the nature of the conflict in the

area may not be one of a conflict between revolutionaries and conservatives, rightists and leftists or monarchic regimes and republican regimes because when the Israeli enemy threatens the Arab existence in its entirety, he does not make a distinction between political ideologies. This is evident in the enemy's aggression of 1967 (against Jordan, Egypt and Syria). Moreover, the Israeli partition scheme which has been prepared to detonate the Arab area seeks to shatter the unity of the internal front of every Arab country. Therefore, it must be stressed that it is necessary to embrace the idea that in the face of the Israeli partitionist scheme, there has to be an Arab state of accord to defend the Arab existence. When there is a battle for the liberation of the land and when the land is being defended, the political conflicts over the regimes must not take priority over the idea of defending the existence. To pro-Arabs like us, the land comes before the regime.

When this becomes our strategic understanding of the reality of the Arab arena and of how this arena should be and when the Israeli scheme is embodied in Lebanon economically and in the partition and dissipation of Lebanon's unified national entity, then our confronting this scheme in Lebanon is not only a duty dictated by our commitment to the Lebanese nationalism but also a pan-Arab duty dictated by the need to fight in defense of the unity of the Arab identity. Considering that the official inter-Arab conflicts in Lebanon detract from this battle and do not add to it and considering that the Zionists are still capable, as proven by the events, of engaging in partitionist action against Lebanon's soil and people, then this means that the Israeli is better able to exploit these inter-Arab conflicts in the interest of his original scheme.

It serves our principles and our interests, as a people and an organization, to have an Arab accord that helps us confront the Israeli partitionist scheme and it is not in our interest to be a party to negative struggles and conflicts. Moreover, we, as the proponents of a balanced national cause, believe that the criterion of the commitment to liberation [taharruriyat] of any Arab regime lies in the degree by which it confronts the Israeli partition war in Lebanon, and I am not saying in confronting the Israeli occupation because the Zionists have withdrawn, but their partitionist scheme continues to exist and develop and seems to be, so far, in safe hands. Talk about our subservience to this or that state is rejected and can deceive nobody who is aware of our continuous struggle throughout the past 20 years and who still makes accusations against us. But what is important to us are the people who have given us and continue to give us their pure trust which disturbs greatly the others who have weapons arsenals and monies which no fire could consume and who confront with these weapons and monies faithful and steadfast people holding embers in their hands and who are willing to sacrifice for the balanced national cause.

[Question] What is your position on the Islamic meetings in Damascus and how, as an organization, do you view the security and political solution for Beirut?

[Answer] According to my press information, no security plan is projected. But any security plan in which the militias participate is unacceptable.

Any military force formed after merging the brigades and purging them of the separatist elements will continue to be incapable of protecting security in Greater Beirut unless the domination of the militias over such a force is fully eliminated and unless the force is under the command of the prime minister and minister of defense. Why doesn't Birri accept the command of the minister of defense, and does he consider himself more Shi'ite and more patriotic than 'Adil 'Usayran?

Therefore, it is possible, as a phase, to oust all the militias from West Beirut and let the internal security forces maintain its security. In the longer range, there has to be a plan to re-merge the brigades and remove the elements tied to the militias from the military establishment. Moreover, the contact lines must be eliminated because Beirut's security is indivisible, exactly as freedom is indivisible. There can be no freedom and no security in one area and not in the other areas or governorates. There is an organic integration between freedom and Lebanon's unity, and when freedom disappears in a governorate or a district, fascism becomes the alternative.

On the other hand, Beirut's problem is not just a security problem. The emphasis on the security danger is a premeditated oversight intended to strike the participatory role of the pro-unity popular movement in Lebanese decision making. However, we do not at all accept that those who went to Lausanne, despite our respect for some of them, are the sole legitimate representatives of the Lebanese people. Only the direct election of a constituent assembly by the people can determine who the true representatives of the Lebanese are. We do not accept the equation which says: Beirut, take security and give up your historical right to participate in forming the Lebanese equation.

[Question] On the eve of the latest battles between Amal and the Socialists, Walid Junblatt demanded a role for the Democratic National Front in Beirut. What is your opinion?

[Answer] We have become so accustomed to hearing of "strategic" alliances in Lebanon that in the wake of the declaration of every strategic alliance, people expect the countdown to begin for a clash between the allies. This has been the situation insofar as ex-President Franjiyah and the Phalange, the Phalange and the Liberals, and Amal and the Socialists are concerned.

The 21 June uprising cannot be exploited to replace the security of one militia by that of another militia because, by nature, this uprising is the uprising of liberty against the dictatorships. We are democrats and for public liberties. Amal, the Socialists and the others are entitled to engage in political and information action at all levels. But no faction is entitled to abolish the other factions by military force because the masses of the 21 June uprising have set their objectives clearly and they are embodied in a single phrase: No to partisan security, be it singular or many-sided. We appreciate the Socialists' position of not harming the strike or the strikers. But I don't think that they are serious in projecting a new partisan security plan.

[Question] What do you say to the statement that the Maronite-Sunna formula has ended in the interest of a Maronite-Shi'ite formula which will crystallize in the coming phase?

[Answer] Speaker Husayn al-Husayni told my brothers in the Union leadership nearly 2 months ago that the Muslims' official positions include the premiership and the Chamber of Deputies speakership but that the presidency of the republic often created confusion regarding the premiership through the contradictions between the premiership and the Chamber speakership.

In my opinion, the 1943 structure was not a Sunna-Maronite structure but an Islamic-Christian structure generally. As for the issue of dispossession, what difference is there between the dispossessed in 'Akkar and the dispossessed in the south, the dispossessed in the Sunna al-'Arqub and the dispossessed in Tyre District? Furthermore, can there be in Lebanon dispossessing and dispossessed sects or are their dispossessed from all the factions and dispossessing from all the factions? Dispossession in Lebanon is not a sect, and no movement or party can claim that it represents the dispossessed because dispossession in Lebanon is indivisible.

We do not approve of the entire Lebanese constitutional charter established in 1943. But we make a distinction between the mainstays of the national entity and the political system. The flaw developed when the racist wing of Maronism merged the entity with the regime, defended the regime's injustices and accused the others of lacking national loyalty. Overcoming the Lebanese crisis lies in rescuing the mainstays of national entity primarily, namely unity, coexistence, Lebanon's Arab character and freedom. It is the right of any political faction to demand change in the political system but no faction is entitled to undermine the mainstays of the national entity. We are democrats. So let there be free elections for the establishment of a constituent assembly that restructures the political system in Lebanon. We submit in advance to the results approved by the majority of the Lebanese.

We want to reassure some people that despite the fanaticism being provoked by Amal in the hearts of the misguided, the pro-unity Shi'ites will continue to be a majority and time will prove that the pro-unity Shi'ite masses will, in any democratic referendum, support the faithful nationalist line and not those who try with all means to transform the Shi'ite sect in Lebanon into a canton conflicting with the history, geography, Arabism and Islam of this area.

Rest assured that securing a small measure of the people's public liberties will melt the snow covering numerous militia commands that are proving their presence in the style of the Chicago gangs and without any democratic popular support. It is on this basis that we interpret their hostility to freedom and their rabid efforts to establish the accord of the militias at the expense of the overwhelming majority of the pro-unity Lebanese.

[Question] Does the Union have a certain strategy to regroup the Sunna ranks in Beirut particularly and in Lebanon generally?

[Answer] I am proud of being a son of Beirut. But I cannot understand a Beirut encased in a shell or a Beirut closed to others. Beirut is a center of pro-unity radiation in all of Lebanon. We are open to cooperation with any pro-unity circle that is even partially close to our pro-unity national program in Beirut and outside it.

[Question] What is your position on what has happened in the south in the wake of the Israeli withdrawal and how do you view the end of the Jazzin issue?

[Answer] Israel is not content with the old and new guards of its alleged borders. It wants to destroy Sidon's infrastructure and wants to embroil Sidon and preoccupy it with an internal sedition so that Sidon may abandon its Lebanese national duty of contributing to completing the struggle for the expulsion of the Israeli invaders from the last inch of Lebanese soil. I don't know why a blackout is imposed on the blockade that has surrounded al-'Arqub area for nearly 2 months amidst the utter silence of the Ministry for the South--the ministry of liberation and resistance. There are steadfast people in al-'Arqub, especially in the town of Shib'a, who have honorably rejected the national guard scheme and whose steadfastness has helped numerous other villages that have taken the same position. Why aren't the media lights focused on the problem of al-'Arqub area inhabitants who received the first Israeli blows and who have been evicted? The village of Kfar Shuba was completely destroyed.

As for Jazzin, we support the solution calling for the ouster of Lahd's militia, which is an agent of Israel, from the area, provided that its security be taken over by a national brigade (not separated at the sectarian level) of the Lebanese army.

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LEBANON

PRINCIPLES, GOALS, MILITARY STRENGTH OF SHI'ITE MOVEMENTS OUTLINED

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[Article: "Shi'ite Movements in Lebanon: Their Principles, Objectives and Military Strength"]

[Text] The most prominent phenomenon produced by the Lebanese civil war that has been going on for 10 years is perhaps the rise of the Islamic Shi'ite sect and the growth of its political and military role in the Lebanese arena to the degree that has made this sect the subject of special interest not only at the regional level but also at a comprehensive international level.

If the rapid developments witnessed by Lebanon and the Middle East area during the recent weeks and months, beginning with the increasing fedayeen operations against the Israeli occupation forces and the militias under their control and with the war of the Palestinian camps in Beirut and in its southern suburb and ending with the hijacking of the U.S. plane and the detention of its passengers in the Lebanese capital and their release after long and complex negotiations--if these events have led to focusing the media lights on the Shi'ites and to turning them into a subject of unprecedented political, military and press interest, then the "Shi'ite rise" on the Lebanese and Middle Eastern theatres has not, on the other hand, been a quick surprise and, most likely, it will not be a passing phenomenon.

What calls for special emphasis in this regard is the fact that the rise of the Shi'ite role in Lebanon has not come so much as a result of the "sudden transformation of the sect's sons into fighters and radicals," as an American political commentator said recently, as it has come as a result of a number of political, social and ideological changes experienced by the Lebanese and Middle Eastern arena and by the prominent axes in this arena, namely the Arab-Israeli axis on the one hand and the Iraq-Iran war axis on the other hand, in the past few years. The fact is that the Shi'ite sect's sons, especially in Lebanon, have long formed a "fighting vanguard," if we may use the phrase, and a "human store" for the various revolutionary, radical and ideological movements, organizations and forces that operated within the Lebanese framework in the 1960's and 1970's, including the Palestinian resistance and the various radical parties. The Shi'ites were actually qualified to perform this role by virtue of numerous factors which contributed to the role, some historical with definite religious, ideological and sectarian roots and

others due primarily to the position of the Shi'ites in Lebanon, since Lebanon's independence, as the biggest and most dispossessed sect at the same time. The change that has developed in the Shi'ite position in Lebanon--a change which has practically put the sect in the distinguished position it currently enjoys as a major political and military force in the country--is summed up in the move by the majority of the Shi'ites in the past few years to focus their capabilities within the framework of "Shi'ite organizations" that represent the sect's members and reflect their hopes and aspirations instead of their staying in political organizations, movements and forces with more comprehensive goals. In other words, the growth of the Shi'ite feeling--a feeling whose beginning can be traced back to the mid-1970's--that "there are those who do actually represent the sect" has had an extremely vital impact on the influence and strength of the other parties and organizations that relied, to varying degrees, humanly and geographically on what may be called the "Shi'ite depth" in the south and the mountain. The growth of the strength of the Shi'ite movements and organizations over the past decade has come at the expense of the other parties and movements operating in the Lebanese Islamic and national arena, including the Palestinian, communist, Ba'thist, Nasirist, pan-Arabist and other movements and organizations. Add to this the fact that a number of developments and events witnessed by the Lebanese and Arab arenas have contributed directly to bolstering and entrenching this feeling of belonging among the Shi'ites in Lebanon. The emergence of Imam Musa al-Sadr as a prominent political and religious leader in Lebanon and his sudden disappearance constituted an important motive for entrenching this tendency and strengthening the Shi'ite support for Amal Movement which Imam al-Sadr himself founded in the 1970's. Moreover, the Iranian "revolution" and Khomeyni's success in taking over power in Tehran also came as another major factor in entrenching Shi'ite political and ideological support. This was followed by the Israeli invasion of the Lebanese territories and the occupation of the south with its majority Shi'ite population and the subsequent emergence of the armed civilian resistance to that occupation. These developments have contributed directly to transforming Lebanon's Shi'ites into a fundamental element influencing the regional equation in Lebanon and in the entire Middle East.

Military Strength Is Basis of Political Influence

Naturally and as has been the custom in Lebanon throughout the past 10 years, the primary criterion for measuring the strength and influence of any of the conflicting parties and factions in comparison with the others has been a military criterion. In the Lebanon of the civil war, there is no political influence for whoever does not possess a military force. The opposite is true, of course. If the prerequisites for the possession of an influential and effective military force by any Lebanese faction or sect require in principle the presence of a number of considerations, the most significant being the considerations of securing the minimum limit of unity and harmony in the objectives of the ranks of the sect and entrenching the element of "self-belonging" among its members so as to secure the regional alliances necessary for providing the needed degree of freedom of movement to influence the events--if these are the prerequisites, then the Lebanese Shi'ite sect, which previously lacked such prerequisites, has been able in the past few years,

by virtue of the factors we have pointed out, to secure these prerequisites. This has, in turn, enabled the Shi'ites to succeed in turning quickly from a largely marginal faction in the equation of the Lebanese conflict into a major influential force. They have, of course, been helped in this regard by the elements of numerical superiority and the broad geographic diffusion which the sect enjoys over the other Lebanese sects.

How Are Shi'ites Distributed in Lebanon?

But on the other hand, it may be wrong, in light of the Shi'ite sect's success in proving its presence in the Lebanese arena, to say that the Shi'ites reflect currently a single political, sectarian or religious reality or that they form a united political bloc with no divergence in its tendencies or aspirations. It must be noted here that there is considerable numerical multiplicity at more than one level in the tendencies, objectives and starting points of the Lebanese Shi'ites, not to mention the multiplicity of the leaders and representatives of these tendencies which vary in their agreement and disagreement on the various issues raised in Lebanon and the area currently.

It can be said in this regard that the overwhelming majority of the Shi'ites in Lebanon form a largely "moderate" political current. The objectives of this majority, represented primarily by Amal Movement which is the biggest Lebanese Shi'ite organization and which is led by Nabih Birri, in addition to a number of the sect's spiritual leaders who have decided to adhere to the rules of the "political equation," such as Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din, the deputy chairman of the Higher Shi'ite Islamic Council, which is the highest religious authority of the Shi'ite sect in Lebanon; Shi'ite Mufti Shaykh 'Abd-al-Amir Qablan; and Muhammad Hasan al-Amin, Sidon's Shari'a magistrate--the objectives and aspirations of this majority are still confined to achieving a number of political, economic and social reforms capable of giving the Shi'ite sect a bigger and more effective share in managing the country's affairs without undermining the charter on which Lebanon has been founded since its independence.

In fact, this Shi'ite political line, which enjoys Syria's support, differs greatly from the more radical tendencies which are represented by the pro-Iran organizations, such as Hizballah and the Islamic Amal Movement which is led by Husayn al-Musawi in Ba'labakk and which broke away from the original Amal Movement in the wake of the Israeli invasion in 1982. Whereas the followers of these organizations believe in the need to establish an "Islamic regime" in Lebanon similar to the regime existing in Iran and call for implementing the Shari'a laws unwaveringly and for continuing the armed struggle against Israel even if it completes its withdrawal from Lebanon, Amal Movement and its supporters in the sect's ranks believe that the objectives of the Lebanese Shi'ite movement are fundamentally "political objectives that seek to deal with the existing situation in Lebanon and not to turn it upside down." It must also be noted in this regard that the Shi'ite political and religious movements operating in Lebanon have not been able so far to attract all the sect's members without any exception, considering that numerous Shi'ites in considerable numbers are still operating within the ranks of the

secular, pan-Arab and leftist parties and organizations that include members from the various Lebanese sects, such as the Lebanese Communist Party, the Communist Action Organization, the Syrian Social National Party, the Ba'th Party, with both its pro-Syria and pro-Iraq wings, and the Nasirite organizations, such as al-Murabitun, the Arab Socialist Union and the Popular Nasirite Organization. There remain, of course, the "underground" organizations whose names have been linked to the Shi'ites. The most prominent of these organizations in recent years has been the Islamic Jihad Organization about which not much is known and about which the information is so conflicting that some circles believe it is "nonexistent altogether" and that it is just an imaginary name used by numerous circles whenever the need arises. Meanwhile, other sources disagree with this opinion and say that this organization does actually exist and that it operates within an independent framework engulfed in enough secrecy and confidentiality to spread vagueness around the organization.

Strength and Influence of Shi'ite Organizations

In light of the available given facts, it is difficult to define precisely the nature, size and strength of each of the Shi'ite organizations operating in Lebanon at present. However, the information available from the various Lebanese and international sources permits providing the following general picture on these organizations:

Amal Movement

Amal Movement is the biggest Shi'ite organization in Lebanon. Moreover, it is most likely the biggest Lebanese Islamic organization generally at the military level and the political-organizational level, especially in terms of numbers. Amal Movement's military forces are present mainly in West Beirut and in the southern suburbs surrounding Beirut, in addition to al-Biq'a' and the mountain. The movement also enjoys a prominent military and political presence in the south, especially in the territories from which the Israeli forces have withdrawn under the pressure of the national resistance operations there. Amal forces played a fundamental role in those operations.

The foundation of Amal Movement dates back to the 1970's when the organization was established by Imam Musa al-Sadr. In its early beginnings, the movement was known by the name of the Movement of the Dispossessed. The name "the Lebanese Resistance Regiments" (Amal) was given to its military wing in the mid-1970's. This is the name by which the organization has come to be known since. Husayn al-Husayni, the current speaker of the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies, headed the movement for a short period in the late 1970's before its leadership was taken over by lawyer Nabih Birri, Amal's current chairman who, in addition to this position, also holds the position of minister of justice and minister of state for southern affairs in the current Lebanese cabinet. Minister Birri is assisted in leading the movement politically and militarily by a number of members of the movement's Political Bureau and Military Council. Most prominent among these members are: 'Akif Haydar, Hasan Hashim (considered the number-two man in the movement behind Birri),

Haytham Jum'ah, Ghassan Sablani, Muhammad Baydun, Ayyub Hamid, Mahmud al-Faqih (the movement's organizational official in the south), Dawud Dawud (the political official in the south), Zakariya Hamzah (alias Abu Yahya) who is the movement's military official and 'Aql Hamiyah, the military official in charge of Amal forces in Beirut and the southern suburb.

At the Lebanese level, Amal Movement is tied by a major political and military alliance to the Progressive Socialist Party, which is led by Minister Walid Junblatt. At the regional level, the movement is tied by a major alliance to Syria. It also has firm relations with Algeria.

The information available on the size of the movement's full-time and part-time regular forces shows these forces to be about 8,000-10,000 fighters. This is in addition to reserve and local units which can be mobilized when needed and which are estimated at a total of no less than 20,000 fighters.

As for the armament of the movement's forces, it is very much like the armament of a complete combat army. In addition to the division of these forces into specialized regular units, such as artillery forces, motorized forces and supply, equipment and mobilization branches, the armament of these forces includes major combat tanks of the T-54, T-55 and Patton-48 types; armored vehicles of the Saladin type; armored personnel carriers of the M-113, (FAB) and B.T.R. types; heavy 85-mm, 100-mm, 105-mm, 122-mm, 130-mm and 155-mm field guns; 107-mm and 122-mm multi-rocket launchers; anti-tank guns; anti-aircraft guns; A.T.-3 Sagger anti-tank missiles; and SAM-7 anti-aircraft missiles.

Hizballah

Hizballah has risen prominently in the Lebanese arena in the past few years, especially in the wake of the 1982 invasion. This party is considerably more radical and extremist in goals and principles than Amal Movement with which it has had chronically lukewarm relations that reach the point of tension at times. It is difficult to consider Hizballah a Lebanese organization. On the contrary, this party's leaderships usually insist on considering it a comprehensive Islamic party whose objectives and principles surpass international borders. In this respect, Hizballah is similar, for example, to the Muslim Brotherhood and to the pan-Arab movements, such as the Pa'th Party and the Arab Nationalist Movement. The party leaderships also consider Iranian leader Khomeyni the party's sole leader. The role of the local leaderships is confined to their being mere representatives of the imam [Khomeyni]. Not much is known about the details of Hizballah's pyramidal and organizational leadership in Lebanon. What is certain is that Hizballah enjoys Iran's political and military support. It has been commonly believed that Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, a prominent Shi'ite clergyman in Lebanon, is Hizballah's leader. However, this has not been proven. Rather, it is most likely that Shaykh Fadlallah holds no official leadership nor organizational position in the party at present even though he enjoys extensive moral and spiritual influence in the party. The current information also indicates that Ibrahim al-Amin holds the position of party leader in Beirut

and the southern suburb while Shaykh Subhi al-Tufayli holds the leadership position in Ba'labakk and al-Biqa'.

It is difficult to determine Hizballah's military force. However, the current estimates indicate that the party has full-time regular and semi-regular forces ranging in number from 800-1,000 fighters distributed primarily in Beirut, the suburb and al-Biqa', in addition to the party's presence in the south. Added to these forces are, of course, several hundred part-time fighters who can be mobilized when necessary. Hizballah's armament includes armored personnel carriers, field guns, rocket launchers, antiaircraft and anti-tank guns and missiles and a variety of light and medium personal weapons.

Islamic Amal Movement

This movement was founded by Husayn al-Musawi in the wake of the 1982 Israeli invasion after he broke away from the Amal Movement led by Nabih Birri. The political and military presence of the Amal Islamic Movement is centered in Ba'labakk and al-Biqa'. In objectives and principles, this movement is similar to Hizballah. It is also tied by a firm alliance to Iran, which advances support for this movement. The armament of the Islamic Amal Movement forces, estimated at 300-400 strong, includes guns, mortars, rocket launchers and various light and medium weapons.

8494

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PEOPLE ASKED IF COEXISTENCE NO LONGER POSSIBLE

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 13 Jul 85 pp 70-72

[Article: "Lebanon Can Exist Only with Two Wings; Partition Is Israeli Objective; AL-TADAMUN Has Roamed Among People in West Beirut and Asked Them: Has Coexistence Among the Lebanese Ended?"]

[Text] Beirut--Coexistence among the Lebanese who belong to 17 sects and religious denominations has entered the phase of the final test, both written and verbal. In this test, the proverb "at test time, a man is either honored or humiliated" will apply.

The Lebanese who had been eager for the continuation of their coexistence and who had cared so tenderly for this coexistence that many of the world's peoples and nations envied them are now standing perplexed before this question: Has the golden age of coexistence ended?

The Christians have been evicted from the mountain and have been driven to homelessness from al-Kharrub District.

The Muslims in the east Sidon villages emigrated and then returned, with those unable to find a livelihood emigrating again. The Muslims who lived in East Beirut have abandoned their homes for good.

In Greater Beirut, the manifestations of partition are no longer confined to two sectors, one eastern and one western. Rather, several warring zones and zones of internecine warfare have emerged in each sector. This warring and infighting is no longer conducted with political means but with the latest guns, rockets and missile launchers.

What is happening on the ground is not happening accidentally, it is not sudden and it is not an act of fate. The criminal attempts to partition the country and slaughter the people are not unknown, unlike the criminal investigation reports on the mysterious crimes with which the Lebanese arena has abounded in recent years--reports that conclude with the words: "The charge of committing the crimes has been made against an unknown person."

This unknown person who is seeking to tear the Lebanese body apart, to sever its extremities and to amputate its organs has become well known. The Lebanese with their various political and ideological tendencies and their

sectarian and religious affiliations, are pointing their finger unanimously at this unknown perpetrator and exposing his plans. During the war of their conflicts and of their crushing infighting, which some people say will become like the Dahis and al-Ghabra' war [a pre-Islamic Arab tribal war which went on for many years because of a horse race], the Lebanese have never been as unanimous in anything as on their agreement that the "unknown" is Israel.

When the Israeli forces entered Lebanon in the summer of 1982, they raised a slogan defining the aggression's objective: "Insuring the security of Galilee." They heaved a sigh of relief while declaring shortly afterward: "Now we can say that we have achieved the operation's objectives. We have struck at the PLO's complete infrastructure."

Snake's Plan

With these words, the Israelis were selling their people a half-truth concerning the objectives behind the invasion so as to absorb the wrath of Israeli public opinion which began to wonder about the causes that could justify a massive military invasion costing a lot of lives and nearly \$600,000 dollars a day. But the other part of the truth was not revealed then, not even now, since the Israeli plan moves slowly and slyly to achieve the objective it seeks.

The truth is that much of what has been written in the Israeli papers and magazines and in Israeli books and studies offers facts that flow into the framework of exposing this objective. Israel, with its organic racist structure which can change only with the elimination of Israel's artificial existence, and Lebanon, with its coexisting, concordial and conciliatory structure which can change only with the elimination of Lebanon's existence, are two antitheses that put the image of Israeli society in the corner of embarrassment and collapse, both at the internal and international levels. Annoyance with the Lebanese formula of coexistence has at more than one time and on numerous occasions been voiced by Israeli officials in all the Israeli governments that have come in succession in Palestine since 1948. The Israeli dream of striking and crushing this formula is not new but dates back to the year in which Palestine was usurped. During the various phases of the attempts to translate this dream and crystallize it on the ground, the Israelis did not find the right soil until the features of the Israeli invasion of several Lebanese areas, each constituting a model of coexistence between its Muslim, Christian and Druze inhabitants, were fully clarified.

When the Israeli government made its decision on 13 January 1985, declaring that the "operation for the safety of Galilee's security" had succeeded, it did not reveal its other cards that seek to achieve another objective through the invasion and occupation, namely the "operation for the safety of Israel's security."

If the first operation called for the destruction of the PLO's infrastructure, then the second operation calls for destroying the infrastructure of the coexistence formula between the Lebanese Muslims and Christians in implementation of the Israeli concept of secure borders--a concept based on

seeking to create sectarian mini-states around the Israeli entity so that this racist entity may find protection behind the sectarian racism of such mini-states.

This declared and well-known objective of the Israeli strategy has not entered the framework of an open Israeli plan, considering that its implementation takes place like the movement of a "snake" that hides and writhes in the grass to bite its prey and inject its poison into its body.

When the Israeli government made its decision to withdraw its forces, the decision had a secret appendix which can be put under the title of the "snake's plan" to strike at the coexistence among the Lebanese. This caused the occupation forces' withdrawal to be coupled with a series of steps that come within the framework of this plan, thus motivating the French L'EXPRES to mirror this serious reality in a different manner when it said that the "Israeli withdrawal will constitute the longest and most dangerous days in the Lebanese war."

The Lebanese are, of course, aware of the meaning of these words and they understand them better than others because they have tasted the bitter experience and because hardship has come to be kneaded with their daily bread. An ember burns only where it is placed and "he who receives the lashes is not like him who counts them."

If you wandered among the Lebanese in West Beirut with all their classes, tendencies and affiliations you will get only one answer: We do not want the partition. A single and united Lebanon is the goal and the primary aspiration.

Umm Husayn Karkaba: "What we have suffered in recent months is actually the worst we have experienced in the days of the war that has been going on since 1975. Fortunate were the days of the events of 1975 and 1976. At the time, we knew that the fighting took place on the contact lines and that those lines were opened at times and closed at others, meaning that they were cold at times and heated at others. But now the situation is different. Every area has come to have its own contact lines and Lebanon has been turned into a maze of such lines. We used to hear in the past that there are in Lebanon international red lines that nobody may cross. But they were often crossed and new red lines were established. Now, we don't know where these lines are. I recall that during the events in Zahlah, Dayr al-Qamar and Suq al-Gharb, the major powers rushed with the various means, even with military means, to declare that there are red lines that forbid deciding these events. I also recall that the U.S. 6th Fleet battleships operated off the Lebanese coastline to create a belt of heavy artillery fire around Suq al-Gharb during the Mount Lebanon events in 1983 in order to prevent the town's fall into the hands of the Progressive Socialist Party. I am saying this to express my surprise at the major powers which established hundreds of red lines in the past but now stand idle without drawing a single red line to obstruct continuation of the Israeli plan seeking to partition Lebanon."

Al-Hajj Khalil Sirhan said: "What is amazing is that during the events of the past 10 years, slogans have been raised repeatedly by one faction accusing the other of seeking to partition the country and vice versa. Each faction has been denying the accusation and asserting that it is a lie and that it is trying to preserve a sound and healthy Lebanon. I recall that a prominent leader who is now a member of the Lebanese cabinet at one time said loudly and repeatedly: We will fight 99 years and more, if necessary, to safeguard Lebanon's unity. What is surprising is that the danger of partition did not enter the phase of imminent danger in the wake of the 1975 war as it has entered it now, especially from the time of the dramatic developments in the Mount Lebanon events and until the present, considering that the acts of sectarian separation are proceeding actively here and there. This separation has already happened in several Lebanese areas, and more will follow. Who is going to stop this catastrophe, meaning the bottomless abyss, towards which the country is moving?

"I wish with all my heart that the entire world would move to preserve the unity of Lebanon, of its soil, of its people and of its institutions."

Khawla 'Awwad: "I am one of those who is not surprised by what is happening in Lebanon nowadays. I do not mean that what is happening is logical and healthy but that it is expected. Whoever maintains a vigilant and alert knowledge of the situation in Lebanon realizes immediately that what is happening in the Lebanese arena is planned with premeditation by Israel.

"When the Israelis entered Lebanon, they wanted to sow sedition among the Lebanese. But they soon found out that the Lebanese began to unite against them. The fedayeen operations against the occupation forces increased and the people began to unite, demanding that the Israelis withdraw immediately and without any condition or gain. This motivated the Israelis to tackle matters from a different angle and they resorted to withdrawal from certain areas, leaving them to flounder in a security void. This is what caused the hateful wave of sectarian infighting. Every faction tried to fill the void by itself while the other faction rejected. Hence the battles, the massacres, the evictions and the homelessness.

"The Israelis withdrew while refusing to allow the legitimate Lebanese authority to reach the areas from which they withdrew. They are the ones responsible for all that has happened and for what may happen in these areas in the future. Should partition occur, God forbid, then Israel is responsible. All you have to do is to look at Israel and at its actions."

Nur 'Ali Kammunah has something different to say: "They talk of partition nowadays as if it were fate falling unexpectedly, without any prior warning and without anybody knowing or feeling it. This is wrong. It is true that I didn't know much about politics. But I have learned. Even those who do not deal with politics closely or remotely have become political experts and analysts who make their conclusions, rack their brains and solve the Middle East issue over a cup of tea or coffee, for example. I am one of those and many others are like me. This is why I believe, with utter modesty, that the strike at coexistence among the Lebanese has not come spontaneously,

offhandedly or suddenly. Everything is well studied and comes at its proper time. What one believes to be a surprise is not, in fact, at all surprising. If we go back to the first moments of the war and move to the present, we notice that all that happened, regardless of how difficult and impossible, at a certain moment came according to well-studied schemes in the hands of those who sank to the level of implementing these schemes. It is now time to strike at coexistence. It seems that there is an infernal plan to partition Lebanon and this plan cannot be implemented as long as there is coexistence and accord among the sons of the one homeland."

Muhammad Sirhal said: "It is regrettable that we are living day and night in the mercy of shelling and sniping. Death pursues us every moment. The sound of the ambulances' sirens is always in our ears. Our children are in a lamentable psychological condition. They have exhausted us. They have turned us into commodities and dummies to implement their schemes. Ultimately, we are the ones who pay the price and pay our taxes and those of the others.

"Our social conditions are all but pitch-black. Our situation is dark and our future is futile and rests on a devil's palm. This feeling which we experience has not, of course, come on the spur of the moment but after years of daily exhaustion, and well-studied exhaustion at that. It seems now that the scheme hatched to strike at Lebanon's unity has reached the threshold of its conclusion. They want to push us into the tunnel of partition. They are trying and we must continue to reject this dangerous situation in order to obstruct passage of the Israeli scheme."

Zaynab Najib Faqih: "We have been living in this area for 40 years. We used to live safely and securely, with no concern preoccupying us other than how to improve our conditions and to turn our attention to the future to prepare for it according to our abilities and resources. Now the conditions have changed and the situation has altered. Everything is moving contrary to what we wish and contrary to what should happen. We have paid dearly for the war. Our house has sustained severe damage several times. We repaired it every time and continued to live in it, but only to find it hit again by a shell from here or a rocket from there and to find that we have to repair and restore it again. What is important is for us to stay in it. I am not saying this futilely or aimlessly. I want through these words to signify a very important aspect, namely that our clinging to the home despite all the hardships shows that the Lebanese continues to cling to his deep-rooted character, regardless of whether the matter concerns land, property or loyalty. This means that loyalty to the homeland continues to be an indivisible part of this deep-rootedness."

Fatimah Himsi said: "I am one of those who believe that partition cannot occur overnight. It needs time to become valid on the ground. I also believe that there has to be a prelude or a series of preludes that collectively and ultimately lead to partition or to any other objective, for example. These preludes include the acts of eviction that have pursued hundreds of thousands of Lebanese throughout the past 10 years. We, for example, have been evicted several times in these years, the last time from Sidon to Beirut's commercial markets. We don't know where we will move next because

the security conditions in the area in which we currently live continue to be turbulent and our lives there are in serious danger. It seems that the partition scheme calls for striking at coexistence and separating the people according to areas so that each area may belong to a certain sect. The scheme seeks to get the people accustomed to moving from area to area so that they may finally reach a time when the Muslim lives in a Muslim area and the Christian in a Christian area. It is a malicious partition scheme."

Ahmad Sulayman 'Aziyah said: "Nobody in Lebanon wants to believe that the age of coexistence between the Muslims and Christians has fallen victim to the sniping and the shelling aimed at it throughout the 10 years of the tribulation in which we have been living, with more to come. Despite the massacres, the killings, the evictions, the emigration and all the rest, the fact is that we cannot believe that the age of coexistence has ended or that it can end."

Amal Sa'd-al-Din: "Regardless of how hard the days bear down on us, regardless of how far apart they drive us and regardless of how much of our fraternal relations they destroy, we will continue to insist on coexistence. I did not imagine that we, as a single people, could separate from each other. From my childhood, I lived in my home in the village with my neighbors and our beloved ones. But God's curse be upon these days that we live in. We have reached a point where we can no longer continue to live this life. Can the Muslim dispense with the Christian or the Christian with the Muslim? As people have always said, Lebanon was born to live with two wings: one Muslim and the other Christian. Consequently, Lebanon cannot survive and continue to live unless these two wings continue to be healthy."

This is what some citizens we have interviewed in West Beirut say. All refuse to believe that the statue of coexistence has begun to sway and that it may be shattered on the ground of reality at any moment if Israel's "snake plan" continues to move with its malicious attempts.

In al-Kharrub area, where tens of thousands of the area's Christian inhabitants were evicted a few weeks ago, a coexistence experiment is taking place. In light of the outcome of this experiment, numerous issues in the area will be defined. Walid Junblatt has invited the inhabitants of the village of al-Rumaylah (Christians) to return to their village and be under his personal protection. In fact, hundreds of the village inhabitants have responded to the call and returned. From time to time, Junblatt tours the village which is located on the coastline between Beirut and Sidon (at a distance of nearly 10 km from the latter) to make sure that the experiment is still alive. Commenting to his visitors, Junblatt said: "If al-Rumaylah experiment succeeds, then it will be possible for us to ask our Christian brothers to return to all the mountain areas from which they have emigrated."

Niqula 'Atallah, a returnee to al-Rumaylah, said: "We are now living in a good and stable security situation. Everything is available in the area. As a citizen from al-Rumaylah, I urge the other inhabitants of the area to return to their lands and villages so that they may not continue to live homeless in their own homeland. Everything is available in al-Rumaylah and

everything the citizen wants is secured. We will never relinquish a grain of the village's soil because it is the experiment and the model, if it manages to preserve the common coexistence which, we hope, will again prevail in all parts of Lebanon."

Ilyas Faris said: "We are comfortable in al-Rumaylah and we cannot complain that there is any harassment. I have returned to resume my work on the land as usual, exactly as I did before the painful recent events. All we hope for is that these dark clouds in the sky of coexistence among the Lebanese will be no more than passing summer clouds that will soon disappear and vanish."

AL-TADAMUN's tour among the people made homeless and driven apart by the tragedy thus came to its conclusion.

They reject "partition" and they want coexistence and a united Lebanon. Who will hear their voices and heed them?

8494

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LEBANON

PEOPLE UNITE IN SUPPORT OF MIDDLE EAST AIRLINES

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 12 Jul 85 p 16

[Article by Nahidah Nakad: "American Tempest Around Middle East; Lebanese Unite in Air"]

[Text] It is one of the few times in which the Lebanese have agreed on one thing in more than 10 years and in which their voices have risen in unison to object to U.S. President Reagan's decision to isolate Beirut Airport from the United States and the West. It is no exaggeration to say that the Lebanese have united behind Middle East Airlines [MEA].

Should the airport be isolated [boycotted], the first victim would be Middle East Airlines, and along with it the thousands of workers it employs. The attachment of the Lebanese to Middle East Airlines is not just emotional: The company is the biggest employer after the state agencies and institutions. The company's bankruptcy would mean a major crisis which Lebanon may not be able to endure easily, especially in its current circumstances.

It now seems as if the fate of thousands of Lebanese is tied to a political decision that may be made by the heads of the West European countries, not only against a faction of the citizens and against the State of Lebanon only but also against a private airline. All this in the name of the Free World and of "fighting terrorism."

The Middle East Airlines Company is awaiting the European statements silently. Its general administration has asked all its employees, especially the company's prominent employees, not to make any statements to the press. The company has been content with a press release objecting to the U.S. campaign to which it has fallen victim.

But if the European governments, in solidarity with the Reagan administration, decide to isolate Beirut Airport for an indefinite period or until the Lebanese government is able to gain firm control over it, as British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said, then what will Middle East Airlines be facing?

There is no doubt that the flights which the company operates to the European capitals constitute an important part of its operations. To MEA, Beirut Airport is the link between Europe and the Middle East on the one hand and a

launching point to Africa on the other. If the flights to Europe come to a halt, the company's operations will drop by one-third, especially since some of the European routes, such as the Beirut-London and Beirut-Paris routes, still secure financial revenues for the company whereas the number of passengers on the other routes have declined.

Presently, the MEA position does not seem encouraging. The company is operating at a constant financial loss. Contrary to other airlines or airline companies in the world, MEA's objective has been, for a considerable time, not one of increasing profits but of curtailing losses in order that the company may be able to survive. Some officials have said that MEA is no longer a commercial company but has turned into a charitable organization serving the Lebanese people.

In fact, the company has been losing an ever-increasing number of passengers for the past 10 years. Previously, the company completely suspended its flights when Beirut Airport was closed to air traffic, once for 3.5 months in 1972 and another time for 5 months in 1982. It is perhaps more of a "miracle" than anything else that the company has survived despite all this. If MEA is compared with Pan American or Braniff, which was forced into bankruptcy a few years ago, it becomes obvious that MEA enjoys a distinguished capability for survival. When the number of Pan American's passengers began to drop, this U.S. company immediately sold the Intercontinental Hotel network, then its building in New York and then dismissed a number of its employees even though its flights were not interrupted for a single day.

Meanwhile, MEA was able, despite the difficult circumstances, to turn in a profit of 9 million Lebanese pounds in 1980. However, the company's losses in the past 10 years have been enormous. In 1974, i.e., 1 year before the eruption of the war, MEA's profits amounted to 36 million Lebanese pounds. In 1 year, all this turned into a loss of 14 million pounds. With the passage of time, these losses accumulated to reach 182 million pounds in 1982.

What has saved the company and enabled it to survive under the weight of these losses?

The fact is that MEA possessed a fiscal reserve which amounted to nearly 285 million pounds in 1980 whereas its capital amounted to 100 million pounds at the time. The steps which the company has taken in the past 10 years have given it the ability to continue. The experience it has gained from the successive emergency conditions may perhaps help it overcome the boycott of the West European countries, should this boycott materialize and if it does not last for a long time.

The steps taken by MEA include reducing the number of flights and terminating the flights that were not profitable and, consequently, closing a number of MEA offices abroad where the company was compelled to dismiss a large number of employees. In some places, the company dismissed 50 percent of the employees. The special step taken by the company when traffic at Beirut Airport was suspended in 1976 and 1982 was embodied in a request from the company to

its employees to contribute one-half of their salaries to save the company. The employees still give up their annual vacations. But the salary of any of these employees in Lebanon has not been interrupted.

The steps taken by MEA also include leasing three of its aircraft to other companies, such as Air Egypt, Saudi Airlines and British Airways. In some countries, the company organized joint flights with local airlines for which MEA aircraft have been used, with the other companies thus contributing to the expenses and sharing the profits.

It is perhaps possible to say that if the West European countries decide to support the U.S. decision to isolate Beirut Airport for a short period of no more than 6 months, then MEA will be able to survive without resorting to new steps that are harsher than the steps the company has taken so far. This is because the current season is considered good for the various airlines companies. Summer always witnesses an increase in the number of passengers and the demand for leasing airliners rises. This is why MEA aircraft, whose flights to Europe have been stopped, may be used by other airline companies, but without passing through Beirut Airport, of course. As for the pilgrimage season which will start in a few weeks, it ordinarily yields to the company big financial revenues which may help it considerably, thus enabling the company to continue despite the unexpected losses and the losses that have become ordinary.

But there remains a problem that is difficult to solve, namely Beirut Airport's loss of its international reputation and of whatever remaining international status it enjoys. This means that the few airlines still dealing with the airport will perhaps refrain from frequenting it, thus increasing the danger of boycotts that may develop in the future. It will be very difficult for MEA to counter such developments. This is why the company will perhaps study long-term solutions.

The most effective solution to confront new and unforeseen developments lies in having MEA use an airport in another country. Some countries had proposed that the company use their local airports but the company refused even to discuss the question of abandoning Beirut Airport whereas TMA, a Lebanese cargo airline, is now using al-Shariqah Airport as its base of operations.

There is another plan that may be presented to MEA at this time. The Emirate of Dubai is forming a new airline which will carry the name of Emirates Airlines and which will be independent of the Gulf Airways Company. This raises the question of the emirate's need for experienced administrative personnel, for already equipped foreign offices that are ready to operate and for employees capable of managing these offices. Thus, it is likely that MEA will join Emirates Airlines and use Dubai Airport as its base of operations.

With such a plan, the company may be able to retain its employees abroad and some of its personnel in Lebanon. But its offices in the country will diminish if this happens and the development will have negative consequences for the Lebanese economy and Lebanese manpower.

This is why the most likely possibility lies in having MEA try to continue in Lebanon for as long as possible and until conditions improve so that the Lebanese employees who have frequently risked their lives to ensure the company's survival may not fall victim to the policy of Reagan, Thatcher and some European leaders.

8494

CSO: 4404/403

BANGLADESH

ERSHAD HANDS OVER DOCUMENTS TO URIR CHAR SETTLERS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 27 Jul 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] Urir Char, 26 Jul--President Hussain Muhammad Ershad today handed over documents to the permanently settled families in Urir Char providing each of them with six bighas of agricultural land reports BSS.

The handing over of the documents was done in fulfillment of the commitment made by the president after the cyclone to provide the Urir Char inhabitants with land so that they can earn their livelihood by cultivating their own lands.

Speaking on the occasion, President Ershad said now that each family in Urir Char with six bighas of land would be able to maintain themselves properly. This he said also opened a new horizon for the people of this area since they would now till their own land and would not be exploited by anybody. Same procedures would be followed in other affected islets, he said.

He said Urir Char had already been placed under Sandwip Upazila and added that this step had brought the administrative and developmental facilities closer to the people of the islet which were absent there in the past.

The president pointed out that the first phase of the rehabilitation work in Urir Char had almost been completed and said in the next phase each family would be provided with one pucca structure. The design for the pucca structure was being prepared and work would start after the monsoon. He said cyclone shelters would also be constructed so that the inhabitants of the islet could save themselves from natural calamities.

President Ershad reiterated that his government would make all possible efforts to make the life of the Urir Char residents easy. In this context he referred to the opening of tahsil office police out post sinking of deep set tubewells re-excavation of tanks and various steps of agricultural rehabilitation. More facilities would be created in the islet to make the life of the people happy there, he assured.

He said to achieve prosperity of the people in Urir Char, they themselves would have to work hard. He told them to work with determination and devotion to change their lot. The government he said would provide all possible assistance to them in achieving this goal. It is expected that they make full use of these facilities, he added.

Orphans

The President referred to the four Urir Char orphans he had taken to Dhaka for their proper upbringing and said he himself had visited them yesterday in SOS children's village in Dhaka and he was happy to see them hail and hearty.

President Ershad thanked the ZMLA Zone "C" Major General Noor Uddin Khan and other civil and military officials for their relentless service in successfully rehabilitating the cyclone victims of Urir Char.

Earlier the president inaugurated the Urir Char tahsil office.

Later the ZMLA Zone "C" apprised President Ershad about the progress of rehabilitation work including the agriculture rehabilitation in the islet.

Meanwhile 854 families out of 1,000 in Urir Char have already been provided with houses built of CI sheets. The remaining 146 houses are being constructed. For agriculture rehabilitation, seed beds on 152 acres of land are being planted while broadcast Aman has been cultivated on 450 acres.

Agriculture implements like ploughs and fertilizers for each of the 1,000 families have already reached in inlet and awaiting distribution. Two bullocks for each family are being collected from different parts of the country and they are being handed over gradually.

CSO: 4600/1827

BANGLADESH

COMMERCE MINISTER MEETS WITH INDIAN COUNTERPART

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 28 Jul 85 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Commerce Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed, met his Indian counterpart V P Singh, who is also chairman of GSTP meeting in Delhi on Friday evening and they discussed bilateral economic issues, reports BSS.

The Bangladesh Minister requested his Indian counterpart to lift tariff restrictions on Jamdani sarrees and jute carpets and such other Bangladesh exportables.

Mr Zafar requested Mr Singh for increased Indian imports from Bangladesh to reduce the existing trade imbalance which favoured India.

Mr Singh assured him that he would look into all such possibilities.

Air Vice Marshal (retd) AK Khandker, High Commissioner of Bangladesh to India, was present.

During the talks Mr Ahmed also requested the Indian Minister to extend duty-free treatment to imported products from Bangladesh, according to delegation sources.

Commerce Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed who led the Bangladesh delegation at the just-concluded Global Systems of Trade Preferences (GSTP) ministerial meeting held bilateral talks with his counterparts

from different participating countries in the Indian capital.

Matters of common interest and possibility of expanding the existing volume of trade were discussed in general during Mr Ahmed's meetings with the Commerce Ministers of Iraq, North Korea, Sri Lanka and Pakistan.

The Bangladesh Minister had separate meetings with the Commerce Ministers of Nepal and Iran and also with the Director-General of the UNCTAD who were in Delhi in connection with the GSTP meeting.

The Bangladesh delegation at the meetings included High Commissioner to India Air Vice Marshal (retd) A K Khandker, Mr Abu Sayeed Chowdhury of Commerce Ministry, Mr Habibur Rahman of the Bangladesh mission in Geneva and Mr Khalilur Rahman of the Bangladesh High Commission in Delhi.

CSO: 4600/1831

BANGLADESH

REPORT ON VISIT OF GANDHI'S SPECIAL ENVOY

Arrival, Issues Faced

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 1 Aug 85 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Indian Prime Minister's special envoy Shiv Shankar arrived in Dhaka to discuss the outstanding problems between the two neighbouring countries.

On arrival at the Zia International Airport yesterday afternoon, Mr. Shiv Shankar told newsmen that he had "a clear mandate" from his Prime Minister for improving the relations with Bangladesh.

He, however, did not elaborate the mandate he got from Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

The thorny issues like the sharing of the Ganges waters, implementation of the 1974-land boundary agreement and the dispute over the ownership on the South Talpatty island have been standing on the way of improving relations between Bangladesh and India.

Mr. Shiv Shankar, a member of the upper house of the Indian parliament and a former law minister, will call on President General Ershad today and convey the message he is carrying from his country's Prime Minister.

Replying to a question, Mr. Shiv Shankar said "I am not carrying any letter in fact to hand over to the President here."

Asked what messages he would convey to the President from Mr Gandhi, Mr Shiv Shankar laughed and said "a lot".

Pressed further what specific issues in mind he wanted to discuss during his mission, he said "Anything under the sun could be discussed for mutual benefit".

Apparently cool and calculated Mr. Shankar gave an impression that he came with an intention to resolve the outstanding issues. "My Prime Minister has the firm desire that there should be no irritants in the relations between the two countries", he said.

Foreign Minister Humayun Rashid Chowdhury who was sitting beside Mr. Shankar reciprocated, "We also feel the same way, that there should be no irritants between us."

Asked whether he was carrying any specific proposal to resolve the Ganges waters sharing issue, the special envoy said "we will work it out."

He told another questioner that unless his country's Prime Minister had sufficient goodwill to solve the bilateral problems he would not have sent him to Dhaka.

Mr. Shiv Shankar said the Bangladesh President had also responded equally agreeing to receive him.

Replying to another question whether he was empowered to sign agreements to resolve the outstanding problems during his visit, the special envoy said that signing would be done by the

authorities and added "if there is meeting of minds signing of agreements are of no value."

Asked about the outcome of his recent mission to Nepal as Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's special envoy, he said "We were totally successful". He however, refused to tell anything about his mission there saying "I can't tell you that."

Mr. Shiv Shankar is the second personal envoy of the Indian Prime Minister to visit Dhaka in last four months after the fence-mending tour of Indian Foreign Secretary Romesh Bhandari in April.

Officials could not confirm any meetings or talks of the Indian Prime Minister's special envoy with any ministers during his 41-hour stay in Dhaka save the only schedule of meeting President Ershad today and conveying to him the messages of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

Foreign Minister Humayun Rashid Chowdhury who received special envoy hosts a dinner for Mr. Shiv the Shankar tonight. But meeting between the two could be confirmed.

Mr. Shankar is due to fly back home tomorrow morning.

Remarks on Departure

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 3 Aug 85 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's special envoy Shiv Shankar left Dhaka yesterday for home saying "I have been able to carry out the mission of my Prime Minister to a great extent."

Talking to newsmen at the Zia International Airport prior to his departure, Mr. Shiv Shankar said he was "more than satisfied" and added "my assumption is that President Ershad is fully satisfied."

He, however, declined to divulge the outcome of his three-day mission to Dhaka and said "it would be improper to disclose all the details since as an emissary I am to report to my Prime Minister first."

Replying to a question the special envoy said his talks mainly concentrated on waters issue. He said he had an exclusive session of discussion with President Ershad.

Pressed further to elaborate, Mr. Shankar said, "you can't get any more out of me and don't forget that I am a lawyer."

He said his mission was to see how to improve his country's relations with Bangladesh and create better understanding between the two.

In this regard, Mr Shankar mentioned that both the sides agreed that the outstanding problems between the two neighbouring countries must be removed.

Asked to comment on Indian Home Minister Y B Chavan's remark on the controversial barbed wire fencing by his country along the Bangladesh border, the special envoy said Mr Chavan had made the remark in Delhi and he himself was in Dhaka and like others he saw the press report.

Mr. Shankar, however, added "we have open-minded approach towards the matter" and it would be discussed.

Foreign Minister Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury, who bade

farewell to Mr Shiv Shankar, later told newsmen "we are expecting forward movement in resolving some of the outstanding problems between the two countries."

The special envoy of the Indian Prime Minister came to Dhaka on Wednesday and met President Lt General H.M. Ershad at the Sena Bhaban on Thursday when he conveyed to him the message from Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

Mr. Shiv Shankar was with President Ershad when he flew to the flood affected areas in Rangpur soon after the hour-long meeting at Sena Bhaban.

BSS from New Delhi adds : Indian Prime Minister's special envoy Mr. Shiv Shankar arrived in Calcutta, on way to Delhi yesterday after a three-day visit to Bangladesh where he met President H.M. Ershad and held talks with Foreign Minister Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury on outstanding bilateral issues.

In Calcutta, Mr. Shankar told newsmen that he was "satisfied" with his talks in Dhaka on the Ganges water sharing problem.

Mr. Shankar was sent to Dhaka by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi as part of his new initiative to improve India's relations through resolution of outstanding bilateral problems.

PTI quoted the special envoy as saying that the Prime Minister's "wishes" which he carried to Dhaka had been "successful to a great extent". He declined to elaborate but said a delegation from Bangladesh was likely to visit India shortly.

BANGLADESH

ACTIVITIES OF DELEGATE TO TRADE PREFERENCE MEET

Report on Speech

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 28 Jul 85 p 3

[Text] Bangladesh on Friday strongly pleaded that the issues relating to concessions to be granted to the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) under the Global System for Trade Preferences (GSTP) should be clearly defined in concerned instruments, reports BBS.

We see little scope of the GSTP generating interest among the LDCs unless special needs of these nations are clearly recognised and concrete preferential measures on non-reciprocal basis are granted to them Commerce Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed told the GSTP ministerial meeting of developing nations on Friday in New Delhi.

Mr Ahmed who is heading the Bangladesh delegation at the two-day New Delhi meeting of GSTP reminded the delegates that the New York ministerial meeting in 1982 on GSTP had already identified the preferential treatment to be given to the LDCs among the developing countries.

He pointed out it is imperative that we issue a strong declaration reaffirming our commitment to the programme of collective self-reliance and the declaration of GSTP of 1982 and call for its speedy implementation.

Laying special emphasis on the problems faced by the Least Developed Countries the Bangladesh delegation leader pleaded that the weak must be helped to come up as an equal partner. He said it is not only for the bargaining strength that we need for collective self-reliance, but is also needed more for an improvement in the pattern of trade relationship and for a structural change in the global economy.

The Bangladesh Minister who put forward an 11-point suggestion for consideration of New Delhi meeting said that the principle enshrined in the New York declaration should continue to be the basis for working out rules, regulations and procedures for establishment and functioning of the GSTP.

Mr Ahmed also told the meeting that the "desperate economic situation" faced by the Least Developed Countries which had already been recognised by the developing countries should be "appropriately reflected," in the procedures for special treatment for the LDCs. He said that the unequivocal political will expressed in all forum in favour giving special support to the LDCs should help clear all obstacles in this regard.

The Bangladesh delegation leader sought a clear undertaking that no new non-tariff barriers or enhancement of the existing ones would be made in respect of those products on which agreements on tariff concession have been negotiated under GSTP.

Zafar Meets Rajiv

Commerce Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed met Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in New Delhi on Friday.

Mr Zafar conveyed to Mr Gandhi the greetings of President and CMLA Lt Gen H. M. Ershad and the latter requested him to convey similar sentiments to the Bangladesh President.

Mr Zafar told Premier Gandhi that his visit to the cyclone effected area of Bangladesh in June was "very highly appreciated and welcomed by the government and people of Bangladesh" Mr Gandhi told him that he looked forward to visit Bangladesh in December to attend the SARC summit meeting.

Press Conference on Return

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 2 Aug 85 pp 1, 10

[Text] Commerce Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed said in Dhaka Thursday the 11-point action programme put forward by Bangladesh at the just concluded New Delhi Ministerial meeting on Global System of trade Preferences (GSTP) among the developing countries had been widely acclaimed by the participating delegation, reports BSS.

The minister who returned home on Wednesday night after attending the meeting told newsmen at a briefing at his office that Bangladesh proposals at the conference were reflected in its final declaration.

The 11-point programmes are: Reaffirmation of the principles enshrined in the Group-77 ministerial declaration of 1982 identification and adoption of specific measures for the Least Developed Countries clear undertaking that no new non-tariff barriers or enhancement of the existing ones would be made for products on which tariff concessions would be changed, attachment of high priority to the developmental aspects including employment production and trade flexibility in the negotiating techniques and modalities greater attention to the sectoral approaches adherence to the agreed time table provision for high political level meetings strengthening of existing financial mechanisms at sub-regional, regional and inter-regional levels early finalisation of legal framework for GSTP and continuing unequivocal support to all the Group-77 member countries to GSTP.

Draft Ground Rules

The meeting Kazi Zafar said examined all the draft rules for the establishment of GSTP and called for early completion of the formalities before starting actual negotiations for exchange of concessions.

Replying to a question he said formal negotiations would begin in May next year.

The meeting set a deadline for elaboration of the legal framework and techniques and modalities of negotiations by 31 October and 31 December this year, respectively.

The meeting also agreed with most of the provisions of draft ground rules including rules relating to special and non-reciprocal concessions to the Least Developed Countries like Bangladesh.

The GSTP envisages exchange of goods among the developing countries at preferential rates of tariff along with associated measures for increasing trade among these countries, the minister said.

Kazi Zafar said the GSTP was of particular importance to Bangladesh which as a Least Developed Country was entitled to obtain tariff and non-tariff preferences from other developing nations without being required to reciprocate such measures.

Bangladesh had taken the initiative to introduce such a provision for the LDCs at Group-77 ministerial meeting in New York in 1982.

Kazi Zafar said during his stay in New Delhi he had also useful discussions with his Indian counterpart Mr Viswanath Pratap Singh on bilateral trade.

He said he told the Indian minister to take steps for withdrawal of the ban on imports of jute, jute carpets, jamdani sarees and other commodities by the Indian Government with a view to reducing the trade imbalance between the two countries. The Indian minister responded positively, he said.

With regard to bilateral trade he said there were continuous trade imbalances in favour of India.

Citing figures, he said, Bangladesh imported goods worth Taka 116.1 crore from India in 1981-82 while its exports to India during the period amounted to only Taka 22.5 crore.

In 1982- Taka 47.5 crore the imbalance went in favour of India while in 1983-84 Bangladesh imported from India goods worth Taka 123.5 and its export to that country during the period stood at only Taka 40.8 crore.

He, however, said there was a trend of increased exports to India from Bangladesh despite imbalance.

BANGLADESH

PAPERS REPORT, COMMENT ON SPLIT IN WORKERS PARTY

Party Leader's Announcement

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 19 Jul 85 pp 1,8

[Text] The split in the Workers Party, a component of the 15-party alliance became formal on Thursday when Mr Rashed Khan Menon declared himself as its new General Secretary replacing Mr Nazrul Islam.

Mr Nazrul Islam, General Secretary of the party on Wednesday night said that Mr Rashed Khan Menon and Mr Haider Akber Khan Rono, two members of party's nine-member secretariat, were put under suspension for acting against the political line of the party.

Announcing the decision at a press conference at weekly NATUN KATHA, the party organ's office, Mr Rashed Khan Menon and Mr Haider Akber Khan said that they were going to hold a party congress in August to reorganise the party.

The split brought into the differences that have been plaguing the party for the last two years. Mr Menon and Haider Akber Khan Rono represented one line and Messrs Amal Sen and Nazrul Islam led the views of the rival faction.

The split came after the 16-member party central committee held a meeting on Wednesday to discuss the political situation, unity with the Revolutionary Communist League of Bangladesh and party discipline. The Central Committee approved the decision to unite with the communist league pending approval by party congress to be held in October this year, said a press release issued by Mr Nazrul Islam.

Mr Rashed Khan Menon said that they had attended the meeting instead of taking up the first agenda. Their detractors proposed discussion on the issue of unity. That ensued bitter arguments at one stage Mr Nazrul Islam, who commanded majority in the meeting, said that it was "better to part peacefully." And "we came out of the meeting," Mr Menon said.

The Workers Party was born when Messrs Amal Sen, leader of the then underground Communist Party of Bangladesh (Leninist), Mr Nasim Ali, leader of the 'Hatiar' faction, a break-away group from the Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB) and UPP leaders Messrs Rashed Khan Menon and Haider Akber Khan, who differed with UPP leader Kazi Zafar Ahmed on the issue of joining the Jatiyatabadi front in 1978, joined hands.

They first floated Ganotantrik Andolan from whose platform Mr Menon was elected a member of the Parliament in 1979. The leader of the underground Mr Amal Sen spearheaded the party's rebirth and the Workers Party was formally floated in 1980 in a special congress. The Ganotantrik Andolan was subsequently merged with the party.

Earlier in 1978 the first congress of the then Communist Party of Bangladesh (Leninist) held underground in Khulna elected Mr Amal Sen as the General Secretary and decided to change party's name into Workers Party.

Mr Haider Akber Khan Rono became the General Secretary of the organisation in 1980. The new party proclaimed itself as a Marxist-Leninist Organisation and professed its neutrality in the ideological dispute between the Soviet and the Chinese Communist Parties. The party's stand was similar to that of the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

The schism that led to the split in the party was growing beneath the surface during the last two years. It first came as difference on the tactical line of the party when. The over ground and the under ground branches of the party leadership started taking different views.

In January 1984, Mr Nazrul Islam, a trade union leader from Khulna took over as party's general secretary. He was helped by 'comrades' who belonged to the 'Hatiar' faction. The decision to change leadership centered round mostly the 28 November 1983 happenings during which the secretariat was attacked and four people died in violence. Mr Nazrul's faction charged that Mr Menon's group was pursuing an adventurist line, according to sources.

The current crisis developed over the unity process between different communist factions and leftists groups particularly between the Revolutionary Communist League, a component of the Seven-Party Combine and the left groups of the 15-party alliance other than the Awami League, CPB, BKSAL, NAP(M) and NAP(H) and Jatiya ekota party.

Mr Menon told newsmen on Thursday that they were not opposed to unity with the Communist League and Majdoor Party. The decision must be taken at the Party Congress. He thought that unity at this stage only with the communist league would hamper the greater communist unity.

He also charged that Mr Nazrul Islam had been withholding party congress scheduled to be held by December 1984.

On Wednesday Mr Nazrul Islam said that Workers Party congress would be held in October this year to approve the decision to unite with the Communist League.

Mr Menon said that his organisation would stay inside the 15-party alliance and termed the decision to suspend him and Mr Rono as a blow against the democratic movement.

In his charges against Messrs Menon and Rono Mr Nazrul Islam said they had been using the party organ against the party line, "involved in damaging activities and establishing "suspicious links with unholy quarters.

When contacted Mr Nazrul Islam told THE TIMES that their differences were over the issue of unity between the Communist League and pursuing party lines. He said that during the Central Committee meeting on Wednesday 11 out of 15 members present supported the unity proposal.

The unity issue was the number two agenda and discipline the third. He said that Mr Menon spoke for more than an hour and all the agenda were discussed and unity proposal was approved.

On questions of ideology Mr Nazrul Islam said that the majority of the party was in favor of pursuing a mass line along with class struggle. But Mr Menon and Mr Rono advocated 'adventurist line.' He said that different articles by Mr Rono in the party organ reflected their attitude.

On the question of holding the party third congress he said that Mr Rono held the office of party general secretary from 1979 to January 1974. [as printed] He did not hold it within three years as stipulated under party constitution. 'How he could blame me for not holding it for only a year.' The congress would be held in October. The decision was taken on Wednesday's meeting in their presence, Mr Islam said.

Commenting on the split in the Workers' Party, Mr Tipu Biswas, secretary of the Revolutionary Communist League said that they would support the unity decision taken by the majority faction of the Workers Party. He said that during Wednesday's meeting out of 16-members of the Central Committee 15 attended. When the unity question came up 11 members supported it and four including Mr Menon and Rono opposed it, he said.

Besides Mr Menon and Mr Rono two members of the Central Committee Messrs Shamsul Anwar and Habibur Rahman were present at the press conference.

More Details Given

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 26 Jul 85 pp 1, 8

[Article Shehab Ahmed]

[Text] The much fragmented Leftists in their effort to reunite with their former comrades created more disunity in their ranks. This was the trend in the Bangladesh left-politics for the last two decades. No wonder the tiny Workers Party which grew up after its leaders broke away from the then East Pakistan Communist Party (M-L) in the late sixties, divided again with the slogan of unity in the mid-seventies; split further last week on the question of unity.

In a surprise move party's general secretary Nazrul Islam on 17 July in a press release said that two younger but well-known party leaders Haider Akber Khan Rono and Rashed Khan Menon have been removed from the 16-member party Central

Committee and "reassigned" on workers and peasants front. Although such a move was not unexpected since an uneasy situation in the party started prevailing after Nazrul Islam, a labour leader from Khulna, replaced Haider Akber Khan Rono in January last year, it was surprising because the timing of the removal came in the wake of a war of words between weekly NATUN KATHA of Rashed Khan Menon and weekly EKOTA, the organ of the Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB) in late March and early April. They traded accusations and counter accusations over the wisdom of 15-party alliance decision to stay out of 8 December 1984 and 6 April 1985 general elections. The EKOTA charged that the decision to boycott the polls was an 'adventurist' act while the NATUN KATHA maintained that the decision was correct.

This public argument, however, raised intriguing question about the role of the 15-party alliance or for that matter the seven-party combine partners. No one inside these two alliances before tightening of martial law on 1 March took any public stand against the decision to stay out of the polls without fulfillment of the pre-conditions.

The Workers' Party suffered on this question. The differences of opinion between party's aging leaders and young leadership had been prevailing on the question of five-point movement and unity issue for a long time. On the question of tactics of the five-point movement the party elders charged that Rono Menon had been pursuing an adventurist line.

This was the main reason for Rono's removal as party general secretary in 1984 after differences arose inside the party over the happenings in 28 November 1983 agitation. The CPB had blamed the 'adventurists' in Awami League, JSD, BSD, BKSAL and Workers Party for the violent turn of the movement.

Nazrul Islam told me that Rono was removed because of the differences of opinion regarding the 28 November issue. He said that the latest developments inside the party were due to opposition of Rono and Menon to the unity proposals with Biplobi Communist League led by Tipu Biswas and others. He said that the party Central Committee on 16 and 17 July discussed the unity issues and use of party organ NATUN KATHA by Haider Akber Khan Rono for 'pursuing his sectarian interests' and adventurist policies which go against the party line. When the unity proposal came up they opposed the immediate unity of Workers Party and the Biplobi Communist League insisting that the process of unity should be held up unless talks with Majdoor Party (Bashar) and others were completed, he said. Later in a press release replying to Rashed Khan Menon and Haider Akber Khan Rono's charges, Nazrul Islam further said that they had tried to steer the party 'towards a third alley' with their actions that harmed the democratic movement on the basis of five points. He also alleged that his former comrades were trying for a 'short cut' way to revolution rather than 'trekking the arduous path of mass movement and class struggle.

Earlier on 18 July Haider Akber Khan Rono and Rashed Khan Menon held a press conference at the NATUN KATHA office. Menon expressed his surprise over the move and termed it as a 'blow against the democratic movement.' Referring to the debate with CPB on election issue and the split he said that 'we have become a victim of the current politics.' He said that he never opposed the unity move. "Rather we wanted to have a broad based unity with the leftists who

were scattered from the sixties. We wanted to have unity with not only Biplobi Communist League but also with the Majdoor Party and others. But the party leaders instead of following democratic centralism went ahead with their own decisions. The unity issue should have been finalised by holding a party congress which was long overdue. He said that the last party congress took place in 1980 and accused Nazrul Islam for not holding the congress in December 1984 as per party decision. Now the congress would be held in August. In the meanwhile I will act as the general secretary of the party. The Workers Party would remain in the 15-party alliance and would strive for unity of left groups," Menon said.

Unity With Communist League

With the split over, the Workers Party (Nazrul) announced its decision to unite with the Biplobi Communist League. Its general secretary Tipu Biswas told me that they would go ahead with the unity process with Nazrul faction of Workers Party. He said that the majority, eleven out of 15 members present in the Central Committee meeting of the Workers Party approved the decision to unite with Biplobi Communist League. He also hinted at broad-based unity with left leaning parties.

The Workers Party was born as an open Marxist-Leninist organisation in 1980 at a special congress electing Haider Akber Khan Rono, as the general secretary replacing veteran peasant leader Amal Sen. The party's nomenclature was changed from the Communist Party of Bangladesh (Leninist) in this congress. The Leninist group was formed after merger of three factions of the communist activists. They were the faction led by Amal Sen, the faction headed by Kazi Zafar Ahmed and Rono. They broke from the then East Pakistan Communist Party (M-L) in late sixties. After emergence of Bangladesh a splinter group from the CPB led by Nasim Ali, a trade union leader joined it. But the party leadership was divided in mid-seventies after formation of the United People's Party on the question of joining the Baksal. Finally the UPP split over the question of joining in the Jatiyatabadi Front of General Ziaur Rahman in 1978. Rono and Menon left UPP to float Ganatantrik Andolan in 1979. Finally the organisation was merged with Workers Party. The new party proclaimed an independent line on the question of international communist movement.

After the current split both the factions were trying to muster as much support as possible from the party rank and file. Nazrul faction will hold its congress in October. The faction led by Rono and Menon has started its preparation for congress in August. Rashed Khan Menon went on a tour of Barisal and Jessore immediately after the division to explain the reasons behind the split and gather support from the grassroots because the Central Committee and most of the district committees support the Nazrul faction.

CSO: 4600/1826

BANGLADESH

INVESTMENT IN 5-YEAR PLAN FALLS SHORT OF TARGET

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 25 Jul 85 pp 1, 8

[Article by Shamsuddin Ahmed]

[Text]

The investment in the private sector during the Second Five-Year Plan that ended in June fell far short of the target due to the lack of an 'enabling role' of the government machinery and adequate funds.

Total investment was estimated at about Tk 814 crore as against the projection of Tk 2,500 crore.

Industrial sanction during the period was, however, Tk 2555.37 crore for a total number of 8113 units. Of this, 3081 units came on the ground and the remaining 5032 did not come up as either the sanction was withdrawn or funds were not available.

Some of the entrepreneurs explained that the role of the implementing machinery of the government industrial policy was, in most cases, frustrating for the entrepreneurs.

Citing an example, one entrepreneur told this correspondent that a project sanctioned by the investment board faced a lot of impediments from different agencies. Representatives of Development Financing Institutions (DFIs) and ICB who were also on the Investment Board and parties to the sanctioning of the project created impediments in the implementation process.

Again, he said, Power Development Board, in most cases, refused to supply electricity which is the life-blood of an industrial unit.

The projected investment of the Second Five-Year Plan aimed at creating 5.2 lakh job opportunities. It is now estimated that only about 41 thousand

job opportunities were created from the actual investment attaining mere 7.82 per cent of the target.

The failure has also given rise to the number of unemployed in the country now estimated at around 1.5 crore and the consequent tensions in the society.

A senior industrialised observed the agricultural land-man ratio was estimated at 1 acre: 8000 man. This, he said was not a favourable situation adding: there was no scope of absorbing more labour in agriculture where the labour was in excess.

In the light of this, he said Bangladesh was left with no option but to give the highest priority in the growth of industry. He emphasised the need for coordination of policies by different agencies and an enabling role of the bureaucrats in objective implementation of the industrial policy.

BANGLADESH

REPATRIATION OF STRANDED PAKISTANIS STILL UNCERTAIN

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 5 Aug 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] The delay in repatriation of stranded Pakistanis from Bangladesh to Pakistan has thrown them into uncertainties and frustration.

About three lakh stranded Pakistanis are awaiting early repatriation for the last 14 years. They are living in about sixty camps all over Bangladesh on one seer of wheat a month to each member of a family. Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation provides wheat to them.

Pakistan President Ziaul Huq when visited Bangladesh to see for himself the devastation caused by cyclone and [word indistinct] at Urir Char, had told newsmen that Pakistan was prepared to take them back on humanitarian ground.

Rabita-e-Alam-al-Islami, a voluntary organisation, funded by Saudi Arabia, had also announced its decision to help solve the repatriation of stranded Pakistanis from Bangladesh by extending financial assistance for their transportation from Bangladesh.

The Rabita, however, submitted its reports to Pakistani government on repatriation. But Pakistan Government was yet to take necessary steps in this regard.

The stranded Pakistanis and their leaders described Pakistan Government's silence as conspicuous which strengthened this belief that Pakistan Government was not willing to take them back.

"All their promises are hoax and false," they said.

A leader of SPGRC who likes to remain unidentified told THE TIMES that they would shortly start the movement for early repatriation of stranded Pakistanis from Bangladesh.

"We do not like to rot in subhuman condition in the camps," he said. "We like to live as human being."

He said the programme of the movement included self-emulation and long march.

CSO: 4600/1833

BANGLADESH

INDUSTRIALISTS NOTE SHORTCOMINGS OF CURRENT BUDGET

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 14 Jul 85 pp 1, 8

[Article by Shamsuddin Ahmed]

[Text]

Some of the fiscal measures adopted in the national budget for the current year are likely to retard the industrial growth to which the government has attached much importance.

Expressing this view leading industrialists and entrepreneurs listed the dampening measures as enhanced duty on the import of machinery, imposition of income tax on fixed deposits and continuation of tax on income earned from companies.

They urged the government to review the measures for the sake of speedy industrial growth and suggested some alternatives to supplement the revenue earning of the national exchequer to be lost in waiving the import duty and the income tax.

The entrepreneurs pointed out that the duty on the import of machinery for projects in the less developed areas was raised to 10 per cent from 2.5 per cent while those in the developed areas like Dhaka to 20 per cent from 15 per cent. In fact, they said, the duty should have been totally withdrawn as an incentive to the entrepreneurs to set up more industries in the less developed areas where infrastructural facilities like gas, electricity and communication are hardly available.

They said a large number of projects was sanctioned for the less developed areas and the entrepreneurs had undertaken the ventures taking into account the low-tax incentive. They are

now in a fix following three hundred per cent increase in the import duty on machinery, which will result in increase in the cost of the project beyond their calculation. Where they will get the additional money in a capital constraint situation is a question posed by many entrepreneurs.

The industrialists suggested that dividend income earned from companies should be free from income tax provided the money was re-invested in expansion or balancing and modernisation of the project. This will enable the companies to invest their profit towards speedy growth of industries without depending much on borrowing from banks. Such a measure will also encourage the companies to declare lucrative dividends for the shareholders and reactivate the money market in generating funds for investment.

In this connection they referred to the existing provision that allowed foreign investors to remit their profits home without payment of income tax. "We do want the waiver for reinvestment in industry for a speedy growth and not for sending the money abroad or buying houses or jewellery", said an industrialist.

About imposition of 10 per cent income tax on the interest accrued from fixed deposit of above Tk 40 thousand, they said a large number of depositors had already withdrawn their money creating a liquidity problem in the banks which used to finance industrial ventures and commercial operation.

According to them, most of the fixed depositors are either retired government servants, widows or minors inheriting money from paternal or maternal property. They viewed that such tax was not also legal as a 14 per cent interest derived from the deposit of say Tk. 41 thousand which comes to Tk 5,740 'does not come under taxable income under the rules which give tax relief upto an income of Tk 30 thousand.'

They further agreed that, in fact, the fixed depositors were sustaining loss but contributing to the national efforts of mobilisation of funds for development by putting the money in banks. A depositor was getting 14 per cent interest out of his money. But taking into account the devaluation of taka which was 10 per cent and the inflation which was 12.5 per cent last year a depositor in real terms lost (22.5 minus 14 per cent) 8.5 per cent of his money in fixed deposit.

The industrialists appreciated that the government needed more income to meet its additional commitments. But, they said, it could easily raise the income expanding the tax base and through other ways. For example, the government had last year raised the bank rate by 3 per cent to 11 per cent thus allowing the banks including the foreign ones to earn a fat profit. The government could raise its income substantially by taking away part of the enhanced bank rate, possibly without much criticism.

CSO: 4600/1835

BANGLADESH

USSR INVITATION TO YOUTH FESTIVAL NOT RECEIVED

Minister's Remarks to ENA

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 28 Jul 85 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Deputy Minister for Youth and Sports Sheikh Shahidul Islam yesterday announced Bangladesh was not sending delegation to the International Youth Festival-85 in Moscow.

Talking to ENA Sheikh Shaheed said Bangladesh's failure to send delegation to Moscow Youth Festival was mainly due to the fact that the government did not receive invitation.

In response to a question concerning the invitation received by Rafiqun Nabee leader of the 40 member youth delegation for participation in the festival, the Deputy Minister said he might have received personal invitation. But he and his group were not competent to represent Bangladesh youth at the national level. Rafiqun Nabee's delegation could not go to Moscow because it failed to fulfil the required formalities.

Sheikh Shahidul Islam, who participated in the Berlin Youth Festival in 1973 as a member of Bangladesh delegation said at that time Bangladesh government sent the delegation, after having received invitation from the sponsors. It is difficult to understand why Bangladesh Government was not invited to send a delegation to Moscow this year.

Asked if non-participation in the Moscow Youth Festival was indicative of any strain in Bangladesh-Soviet relations, Sheikh Shaheed said, "I don't think so. We have very good relationship with Moscow". He referred to the participation of Bangladesh film delegation in recent film festival in Moscow in support of his contention.

Delhi Denies Clearance

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 26 Jul 85 p 3

[Article by Hassan Abul Quashem]

[Text] The government has refused to issue official clearance to a youth delegation backed by Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB) to participate in Moscow International Youth Festival beginning from July 27.

The scheduled departure of the delegation on Tuesday last stands cancelled as its last minute efforts to win official support failed to bring any fruitful result. The national preparatory committee which was formed few months back under the aegis of Bangladesh Juba Union, has approached Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Home Ministry and Ministry of Youth simultaneously seeking official clearance for allowing the delegates to participate in the festival beginning in the Soviet capital from July 27 to August 3.

The government has turned down the request on ground that the invitation from Moscow has not rooted through any official channels rather it directly came through a political party. The officials thought that it has direct political patronisation. The government refusal also went to the extent of even issuing threat of impounding passports of some of the leading organisers and members of the youth delegation.

The year 1985 has been designated as 'The Year of The Youth' by the UN General Assembly adopting a theme-participation, development and peace-to commemorate the occasion. The UN used to observe the international youth year (IYY) in every decade while the Soviet Union used to observe International Youth

Festival in every four years. This year's festival coincided with the UN observance of International Youth Year. The government also chalked out elaborate programme to observe the International Youth Year in line with UN objectives. A number of projects have been undertaken for community development to this end.

Bangladesh also refused to allow another youth delegation in last International Youth Festival at Havana in 1978 during the regime of Ziaur Rahman. It has only participated in Berlin International Youth Festival during Mujib period in 1974, and that received official patronisation and number of leading figures in the then ruling hierarchy were not only included in the delegation but also played the dominant role in selecting the members of the delegation.

THE MINISTER

Talking to this correspondent the Minister for Youth Mr. Zakir Khan Chowdhury said that his ministry is not aware of any such invitation. But he admitted that he had received a request from a particular quarter seeking his ministry's approval for going to Soviet capital with a view to participating in the Moscow International Youth Festival. The youth minister said that as his ministry did not receive any such invitation from Soviet Union, the authority of giving approval does not come under the purview of his ministry.

Mr. Zakir Khan Chowdhury, however, said the

government has taken up massive programme to observe the International Youth Year in 1985 in line with the united nation's objectives. It was keenly felt that a project outlining the activities of the IYY involving widest possible youth participation in income generating activities, community welfare and nation building activities ought to be framed. The main thrust is to provide opportunities for the youth to develop their creative talents so as to distract them from socially harmful indulgences, initiation of activities aimed at achieving qualitative improvement of the youth.

Some ministry officials told this correspondent that the objectives behind the Moscow International Youth Festival clashes with the objectives of the UN-sponsored International Youth year, as youths from all over the countries are organised to join the Soviet 'bandwagon'. It has a very 'narrow political purpose' while the UN objectives to help participating youth in the nation-building activities and thus to harness their potentials for the meaningful contribution in the society, they added.

JUBA UNION

Mr. Abul Kashem, President of the Bangladesh Juba Union—Youth Organ of CPB—told this correspondent that the invitation came not from a country but from International Preparatory Committee of Moscow International Youth festival. He said invitation altogether received by National Preparatory Committee which selected a broadbased

delegation comprising of representatives from all shades of opinion and professions.

Mr. Kashem alleged that the government also made an attempt to impound his passport. Mr Kashem is the joint convenor of the 101-member national preparatory committee for the Moscow International youth Festival. The preparatory committee held a number of discussions, seminars and cultural functions and youth rallies as part of its move to observe the Youth Festival and one of the seminars jointly sponsored by United Nations information centre (UNIC) here a few days back.

OFFICIAL PROGRAMME

The government has already constituted a national coordination committee headed by minister for youth for coordinating the activities of the International Youth Year (IYY). A total of Tk 2 crore has been allocated for fiscal year 1985, of which Tk. 50 lacs has been utilised over the same period. A project has been so designed in the style of youth in community development and IYY activities 1984-85. The objectives of the project is to promote activities aimed at the qualitative development of youth, their involvement in the nation building activities, income and employment generation.

The main components of the project are promotion of training and income generating activities and training equipments, tree plantation, health and sanitation programme, youth exchange, village based socio-economic survey with

youth as special target group, leadership training and literacy programme, seminar and rallies, sports festival and sports equipment etc.

Under this grant-in-aids amounting to one third of the investment cost are proposed to be given to innovative and viable income generating projects initiated by trained youths, individually or in groups and non-government organisations. As many as 200 projects will be undertaken with an allocation of 45 lacs taka.

The grant ceiling will be Tk. 7 thousand per individual project, Tk. 15 thousand per group while Tk. 30 thousand for each NGO project have been earmarked. The grants funds are being administered by the department of youth development, has made little progress so far.

Besides, 200 youth teams were supposed to be organised at grass-root level and a sum of Tk. 35.20 lacs has been allocated for tree plantation while Tk. 15.31 lakhs have been earmarked for issuing health cards to 6.55 lakhs youths along with their families on pilot basis. Out of 464 upazillas only 128 have been identified for the project area, during the year 1985. But no progress has been achieved so far.

The difficulties for fiscal year and calendar year has been assigned as a reason for non-utilisation of fund earmarked for the year. The IYY activities centered on calendar year while the fund was allocated for 1984-85 which ended in last June.

BANGLADESH

BRIEFS

ACCORD WITH SRI LANKA--The Federation of Bangladesh Chambers of Commerce and Industries (FBCCI) and the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Sri Lanka (FCCIS) signed a joint chamber agreement in Dhaka yesterday to formalise economic relation between the two South Asian countries, reports ENA. Mr M. A. Sattar, President, FBCCI and Mr A.H. Rajkotwala J.P., president of FCCIS, signed the agreement on behalf of their respective countries. [Excerpt] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 26 Jul 85 p 1]

COOPERATION WITH JAPAN--Bangladesh and Japan yesterday signed an agreement for feasibility study on the development of Dhaka and Narayangonj ports, says a press release of BJWTC. The agreement was signed by Captain Muhammad Shamsul Huda, BN, Chairman, BIWTA and Mr Satoshi Inoue, leader of the visiting delegation of Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) on behalf of their respective governments. The objectives of the study are to prepare Master plans for Dhaka and Narayangonj ports for the period up to the year 2005 and further to determine technical, economic and financial feasibility of short-term plans to be formulated for the ports within the framework of Master plans. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 26 Jul 85 p 1]

CANADIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER--Canada has appointed Mr Anthony Gustave Vincent as its high commissioner to Bangladesh, the Foreign Office in Dhaka announced yesterday, reports BSS. Mr Vincent will succeed Mr Christopher W. Westdal. Born on 9 November 1939, Mr Vincent obtained his Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Minnesota in 1966. A career diplomat he was Director, South and Southeast Asia Relations in the Canadian External Affairs Ministry in Ottawa prior to his present assignment. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 26 Jul 85 p 3]

MUSLIM LEAGUE LEADER DIES--Mr Aftabuddin Chowdhury (Chand'Ma) 75, Vice President of Bangladesh Muslim League and a former M.N.A. and MP died at Dhaka Medical College Hospital on Wednesday noon. He was [words indistinct] old age complications. M. Chowdhury was well-known for social works and charity in his locality at Bhaluka under [name indistinct] District. He left his wife, four sons, three daughters to mourn his death. Namajee Janaja of the deceased will be held at his village Bhaluka after Zehar prayer today (Thursday). [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 26 Jul 85 p 8]

INDIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER--India has appointed Mr Indra Jit Singh Chaocha, a career diplomat, its new High Commissioner to Bangladesh, a Foreign Office press release said on Tuesday, reports BSS. He succeeds Mr I. P. Khosta. Born on 9 July 1933 Mr Chaocha obtained his masters degree from Nagpur University and joined the Indian Foreign Service on 1 May 1956. He served in various capacities in the Indian Ministry of External Affairs and his country's missions abroad. He was an additional secretary in the Indian External Affairs Ministry before his present assignment. Mr Chaocha is married and has three daughters. [Text]
[Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 24 Jul 85 p 1]

EXPLOSIVES MANUFACTURE BAN--The manufacture, possession and importation of explosives in Bangladesh have been prohibited absolutely for public safety according to an official handout reports BSS. A notification to this effect was issued by the government on 13 June. Recognised industries in Bangladesh having import entitlement for sulphur and potassium chloride have been exempted from the operation of this [word indistinct] order, said the handout. [Text]
[Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 18 Jul 85 p 12]

SAUDI MINISTER'S VISIT--Prince Sultan Bin Abdul Aziz Second Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence and Aviation of Saudi Arabia will pay an official visit to Bangladesh in December, reports BSS. Prince Aziz will pay the visit at the invitation of the President and CMLA Lt Gen H. M. Ershad a message received in Dhaka from official sources on Sunday night said. The Saudi Prince indicated about his proposed visit to Foreign Minister Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury at a discussion they had on Sunday at Taif. They discussed matters of mutual interest between the two fraternal countries. [Text]
[Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 16 Jul 85 p 1]

ENVOY TO KENYA--Bangladesh High Commissioner to Kenya, Mr Abdul Momen Chowdhury, presented his credentials to President Daniel T. Arap Moi at the State House, Nairobi, Wednesday, a Foreign Office Press release said in Dhaka on Saturday, reports BSS. Receiving the credentials President Moi said, "Bangladesh is my country" and assured that his government would continue to work closely with Bangladesh to promote South-South cooperation. He said both the developing countries faced many common problems for which it was necessary for them to work together bilaterally and also in international forums. He lauded President H. M. Ershad's untiring efforts to improve the lot of the people of Bangladesh. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 15 Jul 85 p 3]

AMBASSADOR TO KAMPUCHEA--The government has decided to concurrently accredit Bangladesh Ambassador to China, Mr A.Z.M. Enayetullah Khan, as Ambassador to Democratic Kampuchea, a Foreign Office Press release said in Dhaka on Thursday, reports BSS. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 19 Jul 85 p 1]

AMBASSADOR TO GREECE--The government has decided to concurrently accredit Mr Khurshid Hamid, at present ambassador of Bangladesh to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as ambassador of Bangladesh to the Republic of Greece, reports ENA. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 28 Jul 85 p 3]

MALAYSIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER--Malaysia has appointed Zainuddin Abdul Rahman, a career diplomat its new High Commissioner to Bangladesh, the Foreign Office announced in Dhaka on Monday, reports BSS. Mr Rahman succeeds Mr Mohamed Haron. Born on 10 January 1944, Mr Rahman graduated from the University of Malaya, and joined the foreign service in 1967. Prior to his new assignment he was an undersecretary, Malaysian Foreign Ministry. He had also served in Malaysian missions abroad including in Colombo, Tehran, Kuwait and Tokyo. He is married and has three children. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 30 Jul 85 p 3]

CSO: 4600/1826

INDIA

PRIME MINISTER REITERATES STAND ON EMERGENCY

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 24 Jul 85 p 1

[Article: From Our Special Representative]

[Text] New Delhi, July 23, - Mr Rajiv Gandhi reiterated in the Lok Sabha today that if conditions did come about which made it necessary to proclaim an Emergency in the country "I will not hesitate to proclaim it".

Reading out Article 352 of the Constitution as amended by the 44th Admendment-which allows proclamation of an Emergency when "the security of India or of any part of the territory thereof is threatened, whetherer by war, or external aggression, or armed rebellion"-the Prime Minister raised his voice and asked the Opposition: "Which Prime Minister will not declare an Emergency under these circumstances?"

He told the Opposition that the biggest danger to the country was a vacillating Government, a "Government that does not take decisions"-as the Janata Government. "There is nothing wrong with an Emergency when it is required, and the Constitution stipulates when it is required".

Then he repeated: "If any Prime Minister of this country who feels that an Emergency is necessary under the existing circumstances does not impose it, he is not fit to be the Prime Minister".

He had a question for the Opposition: "If the honorable members of the Opposition side are allergic to an Emergency, why did they leave it in the Constitution?" He asked them directly: "Why did you not remove it? Because you felt it necessary. Therefore, you left it in the Constitution".

Mr Gandhi said all that during a 40-minute-long uproar during zero hour today when the Opposition raised the matter of his remarks on the 1975 Emergency during his recent Press conference and pressed their adjournment notices on the subject.

Some of them also wanted the Prime Minister to make a statement on what had been attributed to him.

The Chairman said after a while that the Prime Minister would give any clarification they wanted. Mr Gandhi promptly rose, and after politely but firmly advising the Opposition of any clarification they sought could be done so only through the medium of the Speaker, clarified what he had said as his Press conference.

He told them that he had been asked, at the Press conference, two things. "I was asked whether the imposition of the Emergency in 1975 was correct. I said 'yes, it was correct'. And I stand by that statement . . . the second part of the question I was asked was whether if conditions similar to those in 1975 were to repeat themselves, would I do the same thing. My answer was that 'it is highly improbable that any given set of conditions do occur which make it necessary to proclaim an Emergency I will not hesitate to proclaim it'".

The Opposition has evidently intended to raise the matter in a big way,, but the firmness and often outspokenness, with which Mr Gandhi stood his ground and clarified the matter, unperturbed by the noise, squelched the developing uproar.

"When you do not have the oral authority to speak, you are reduced to shouting", he told one member at one point.

He stated, with alarming candour, that the "many very intelligent members sitting across" had not studied what precisely has been said at the Press conference, they had "not done their homework" and were "only displaying their ignorance of what transpired at the Press conference".

At another stage, he added: "They are now displaying their ignorance of the English language".

Later, Mr Madhu Dandavate (J) told the Prime Minister that the Opposition had no objection at all to what he said in his clarification on the floor of the House, but at the Press conference he had talked of an Emergency in the event of recurrence of 1975 conditions.

Mr Gandhi told him: "I have just said that it is unlikely that one set of circumstances will ever repeat themselves in their totality. In the Press conference also I said the same thing".

He added that what he had said was "very very precise, very very clear".

He told one CPI (M) member that the Press conference was on record, it was on videotape, and on audiotape, and his remarks could easily be verified.

There was commotion in the Rijya Sabha on the Prime Minister's reference to the Emergency in his Press conference.

The Chairman, Mr R. Venkataraman, allowed only Dr Dipen Ghosh (CPI-M) to raise the point. Mr Ghosh's remarks provoked noisy protests from the ruling party benches. Mr Venkataraman said that he would "ascertain facts" and asked Mr Ghosh to raise his point.

"Under what rules" some members of the ruling party shouted. Venkataraman said the Chair had the right to allow a member to make a point if it was in the interest of smooth functioning of the House. Mr N. K. P. Salve (C-I) urged the Chair that he should also be given a chance to speak. Mr V. P. Singh, leader of the House, said the decision of the Chair would be respected.

Mr Ghosh said there was deep apprehension in the public mind over the Prime Minister's assertion regarding the Emergency. He demanded a discussion as it was a serious matter. The Chairman said he would apply his mind adding that there was nothing to be discussed further.

CSC: 4600/1847

INDIA

PAPER REPORTS GROUP OF 77 MINISTERS' MEETING

Gandhi, Singh Open Meeting

Madras THE HINDU in English 26 Jul 85 p 7

[Text] From Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, July 25.

The two-day ministerial level meeting of the Group of 77 opened here today with a call from the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, for endorsement at the political level for the move to launch the global system of trading preferences (GSTP) and a direction to the negotiating process that would bring nearer the new system to promote South-South cooperation.

The function, held at the main hall of Vigyan Bhavan, was attended by delegates from more than 60 countries, half of them ministerial representatives.

While calling for collective self-reliance and deeper economic cooperation among developing countries, Mr. Gandhi wanted it to be made clear that South-South cooperation was not a form of confrontation with the North in any sense. It would strengthen the economic potential of the South and would make North-South cooperation more meaningful and attractive to both the North and the South.

Renewing ties: Mr. Gandhi noted that the colonial legacy inherited by most of the developing countries had not been conducive to development of trade among themselves to its full potential. Now that the developing countries had regained control over their destinies, it was time they gave special attention to renewing commercial and economic exchanges amongst themselves, he felt. He pointed out that the non-aligned and the Group of 77 had worked in a mutually re-inforcing way to develop concrete proposals to strengthen cooperation in trade and other areas and the GSTP concept was therefore grounded soundly in the aspiration of the people and in historical necessity.

Referring to the international trading environment, Mr. Gandhi said there was today a development crisis where per capita incomes in many developing countries had fallen to levels lower than they were at the start of the decade. For others, the crisis had surfaced in the form of severe debt and external financial problems. In almost all developing countries, economic growth had slowed down and the scope for enlarging human welfare had been

reduced. "India is among the few fortunate exceptions. But none of us can view the existing trends in the world economy with any complacency," he observed.

In his view, the recovery experienced by some industrial countries had not been broad-based and in any case now seemed to be faltering. The benefits flowing from it had been limited, and certainly not widely felt in the developing countries. For many of the poorest developing countries the development crisis had shown no signs of alleviation. He felt that industrial countries, instead of becoming more responsive to the problems facing the developing world, had become more rigid.

Going back on pledge: "There is a disturbing retract from the commitment to multilateralism which characterises the consensus on development issues that has crystallised in the 60s and 70s. These difficulties underscore the fact that the world economic crisis is structural and not cyclical. The international economic system is marked by serious malfunctioning both in the areas of money and finance and in the area of trade. And this hurts the developing countries in important respects," he observed.

Mr. Gandhi recalled the measures set forth by the seventh non-aligned summit in New Delhi to strengthen international cooperation for development and said "These remain valid today and it should be our endeavour to develop as broad a consensus around these measures as possible." If developing countries could enlarge and deepen economic cooperation among themselves and strengthen collective self-reliance, their voice would be heard a little better in the councils of the world.

He said the present meeting also provided an opportunity to strengthen the solidarity of developing countries on broader issues concerning the international trade environment. The integrity of multilateral trade regime was today under threat by practices that violated both the spirit and the rule. It was important that developing countries coordinated their views and adopted a unified approach to trade negotiations. "Our objective must be to press for an international trading system that promot-

es the dynamic trade expansion of the developing countries."

'Unusual' meeting: The Union Commerce Minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, in his welcome address, described the meeting as an "unusual occasion" in that the developing countries rarely met at ministerial level outside the framework of international organisations.

He said the focus of the meeting should be on the means to strengthen the mutual economic links of developing countries, particularly in the sphere of trade. Such a step in the direction of collective self-reliance would only strengthen development prospects and render the nations less vulnerable to the instability that had characterised the international economy in recent years.

He recalled that the concept of providing favourable treatment to facilitate trade among developing countries had been under consideration for some time but progress on it had been somewhat slow for a variety of reasons. Over the last year much preparatory work had been completed in Geneva in regard to operational procedures and rules for the general system of trade preferences among developing countries. However, there remained a few important matters which required to be settled. Their resolution would give GSTP the necessary thrust. There was also need for an understanding on the time-frame for the actual GSTP negotiations so that the realisation of the system came about as effectively and quickly as they would all like.

Singh Briefs Press

Madras THE HINDU in English '27 Jul 85 p 9

[Text]

From Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, July 26.

The two-day ministerial level meeting of the developing countries concluded today after setting a firm and specific times-frame for launching the global system of trade preferences (GSTP) to promote South-South Cooperation.

The time-frame envisaged conclusion of all rounds of negotiations by May 1, 1987, which would mark the launching of the new system.

Briefing newsmen, the Union Commerce Minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, who presided over the meeting, regarded the outcome as an encouraging trend towards deeper economic cooperation among the developing countries, considering the slow progress so far achieved since 1982 when a decision was taken to begin GSTP negotiations.

According to the time-table, a framework agreement incorporating ground rules will be completed by October 31, 1985. The techniques and modalities for negotiations will have to be worked out by December 31, 1985, and a negotiating plan will be drawn up by February 28, 1986. The first round of negotiations will begin not later than May 1, 1986.

Seventyone countries of whom 28 countries were represented at the ministerial level, participated in the meeting. The ministers expressed their earnest desire to speed up the process of GSTP negotiations and stressed the importance of collective self-reliance of the developing countries.

Tariff reduction: It was agreed that in addition to the traditional product-by-product approach, the negotiating committee should consider across-the-board tariff reduction up to 10 per cent. Specific sectors of particular socio-economic importance for the developing coun-

tries, like processed tropical products, non-textile handicrafts, textiles and agricultural products, had been identified for comprehensive and integrated treatment relating to tariff and non-tariff measures.

It was also decided that consultations on specific products should be organised to promote trade and development through a greater degree of processing, distribution and marketing among the developing countries.

Pending the exchange of concessions under GSTP, the participating countries would endeavour to adopt measures to facilitate mutual trade. This would initiate the process of trade liberalisation among the developing countries.

Political thrust: The meeting also decided to carry out periodical reviews at the political level for monitoring and evaluation of the progress in all matters relating to GSTP. This was considered a significant decision as it would ensure a continuing political thrust in this sphere of cooperation among the developing countries.

Need for trade expansion: The meeting felt that the importance of the expansion of trade of the developing countries for the world economy had to be properly appreciated. The developing countries today absorbed over 30 per cent of the total exports of the developed countries. However, their ability to continue to absorb such a level of imports would depend critically on the acceleration of their development and export prospects. The multilateral trading system must be responsive to the needs and aspirations of the developing countries and it must be ensured that the rights of these countries under the system were fully protected and preserved, the meeting stated, in a declaration.

INDIA

TRINIDAD PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT REPORTED

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 30 Jul 85 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 29 Jul--India will purchase urea from Trinidad and Tobago under a long-term agreement and export iron ore and seafood to that nation and help it in processing crude oil and setting up joint ventures in the hotel industry, reports PTI.

The decision to promote bilateral trade and further strengthen economic relations between the two countries was taken at the official talks between the two sides here today.

Mr Gandhi was confident that India and Trinidad and Tobago would not only enlarge bilateral relations but work together for the new international economic order. Though separated by distance, the two nations had so much in common, Mr Gandhi noted, adding that both were societies of great ethnic diversity "out of which we have built a distinctive identity."

Sugarcane cultivation, Mr Gandhi noted took a good number of Indian families decades ago to Trinidad and Tobago and was contributing to the wealth and progress of the nation. Both countries had experienced colonialism and were "still suffering from its aftereffects."

There were no bilateral problems between India and Trinidad and Tobago and their only "confrontations" had been on the cricket field. Both nations were non-aligned and believed in a world in which people should have freedom to decide their own policies "without having to bow to any dictate."

Mr Gandhi referred to the significant breakthrough made by Trinidad and Tobago in exports to India and said there was vast scope for identifying new avenues of commercial and economic exchanges.

The "joy of living," Mr Gandhi said, endeared the people of Trinidad and Tobago to all. "It comes out so beautifully in your music." He also recalled how delighted Indira Gandhi had been with her visit to the "beautiful land" of Trinidad and Tobago in 1968.

Mr Gandhi called for greater solidarity among developing nations to be able to withstand the impact of international crises or pressures from the developed world.

Welcoming the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, Mr George Michael Chambers, at a dinner hosted in his honour, Mr Gandhi said "it is hard" for developing nations to individually withstand such pressures. "But if we stand together, we shall be better able to secure our interests. South-South solidarity will be a good supplement to North-South cooperation."

CSO: 4600/1843

INDIA

RAO SEES NO SIGN OF PRC AID TO PAKISTAN ON SIACHEN

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 25 Jul 85 p 5

[Text]

New Delhi, July 24: The defence minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, told the Rajya Sabha today that he had "no confirmed information" on Chinese assistance to Pakistan in the Siachen glacier area.

A news report had recently suggested that Chinese aircraft had assisted Pakistani combat planes in intruding into Indian airspace in the Siachen area on May 29.

Defence experts here are openly sceptical about these claims. The atmosphere makes for very poor visibility and these supersonic aircraft were probably visible for only a split second. Moreover, the Pakistan Air Force flies Chinese-built MiG 19.

Also, political circles feel that the Chinese would not risk engaging in what would undoubtedly be seen as an unfriendly act by India, especially when it is trying to bring about a high-level summit meeting in Beijing to boost the normalisation in Sino-Indian relations.

the minister also clarified that after the May incident in the Siachen area, there had been some exchange of fire over the last two months.

In a written reply, the minister said the government had taken up the question of airspace violations with the Pakistan gov-

ernment which had been urged to refrain from such activities.

To another question by Mr P. Khandelwal, Mr Rao said there had been no casualties on the Indian side. The Pakistani troops had, however, suffered some casualties. But in his reply to Mr G.C. Bhuyan on the same subject, he said there had been casualties on both sides.

Three flag meetings had been held at the sector-commanders level, but these had been inconclusive, the minister added. He assured members that the government had taken all necessary measures and Indian troops were keeping a constant vigil in the area.

INDIA

REPORTAGE ON ECUADOREAN RELATIONS WITH SIKHS

Chauhan Invitation Accepted

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 29 Jul 85 p 9

[Text] London, 28 Jul (PTI)--A high-level delegation from Ecuador, apparently enjoying official backing, is here at the invitation of Dr Jagjit Singh Chauhan, separatist Sikh leader who claims that the government of the South American country is in the process of extending recognition to his so-called "government-in-exile."

The delegation is led by Dr Carlos Julio Arocmena, chairman of the ruling National Revolutionary Party (PNR) and a former president of Ecuador and consists of a top-ranking official of the Ecuadorian foreign office, Dr Chris Tobal Montero and a lawyer, Dr Patricio Buendia. The delegation arrived here on 26 July at the invitation of Dr Chauhan.

Dr. Arocmena, when reached at his hotel, confirmed that he was here at the invitation of Dr Chauhan to discuss the "problems of Sikhs." He was trying to help Sikhs, he said, but declined to answer when asked how he was interested in Sikhs.

Mr Montero, who holds a top rank in the Foreign Ministry and has served as his country's ambassador to Argentina and Canada, confirmed that he was accompanying Dr Arocmena in "my private capacity."

Mr Byron Morejon-Almeida, charge d'affaires at the Embassy of Ecuador, when contacted at his residence here this morning, declined to answer any questions about the delegation's visit, except to confirm that it was here.

The delegation is visiting gurdwaras at Southall and Shepherds Bush in London, at Gravesend, near here, and also at Slough and Birmingham, where it will meet Sikh congregations before returning home on Sunday next. Dr Chauhan is hosting a dinner for it on Wednesday.

Dr Chauhan claimed that he had received a telegram from President Leon Febre Cordero of Ecuador, informing him that the delegation had official status. A 'Khalistan' delegation led by him had been invited to visit Ecuador.

When asked about the telegram, Dr Montero said, "How do you know about that? Anyway, a telegram has, indeed, been sent to Dr Chauhan by our president. But I cannot tell you about its contents."

Asked if his delegation had official backing of the president, Dr Arocmena replied, "The President is a friend of mine. An old friend. I founded the ruling party. But I am also a free citizen."

Dr Chauhan said a five-member delegation of the "Khalitsan council," was jointly led by Mr Sat Aatma Singh, a Sikh with Italian nationality, and by Mr Gurdeep Singh, who lives in Wolverhampton in Britain and holds an Indian passport.

The government of Ecuador he said, had decided to recognize Sikhs as a 'nation.' Moreover, the "Khalistan government-in-exile" had been asked to open a "diplomatic mission" in the capital, Quito, and all its officials would be given diplomatic status.

Ecuador had also offered to provide 25,000 acres of farmland to Sikhs who wanted to settle there, Dr Chauhan said.

Washington--(UNI)--The American press has widely acclaimed the Centre-Akali accord to resolve the Punjab crisis.

In an editorial titled "Statesmanship in India," THE WASHINGTON POST on Sunday said: "There should be no minimising the potential significance of what Mr Rajiv Gandhi has done for India's Sikhs."

THE POST said that all over the world, minorities were in conflict with the leadership of their countries.

Mr Gandhi proceeded with the theory that the best way to isolate the extremists was to negotiate with the moderates who made up the majority.

Questioning whether the agreement will work, THE POST editorial stated that no one familiar with democratic India's ethnic strains, and specifically with the determination of the Sikhs, would underestimate the difficulty of keeping the Indian federal system intact. Then in a positive and upbeat conclusive note, the editorial says that against the odds, Mr Rajiv Gandhi and his Sikh partners are attempting a rare and major act of statesmanship. For their effort they deserve respect.

Bhatinda (PTI)--Mrs Rajindra Kumari Bajpai, AICC general secretary, ruled out seat adjustment with the Akali Dal in Punjab on Sunday.

Addressing a press conference here, Mrs Bajpai hoped that the elections would be held before 5 October when President's rule in the state was scheduled to end.

Sangrur (PTI)—A senior Akali leader, Mr Sukhjinder Singh, immediately on his release from the local jail on Sunday, called on Sant Longowal.

Talking to newsmen, Mr Sukhjinder Singh whose release was ordered by the Punjab government on Saturday welcomed the agreement signed by the prime minister and Sant Longowal.

In reply to a question whether he still supported Khalistan, Mr Sukhjinder Singh said: "The Sikhs should be given a special area with a special set-up where they could feel independent and secure as was promised to them at the time of independence." He, however, added that these were his individual views.

Attempt To Verify

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 30 Jul 85 p 9

[Excerpts] New Delhi, 29 Jul--The Indian Government is verifying reports about an Ecuadorean Government delegation's meeting with Mr Jagjit Singh Chauhan in London and the Sikh separatist leader's claim that the South American country was considering granting recognition to his "government-in-exile," reports UNI.

The charge d'affaires of the Ecuadorean Embassy here, Mr Adolfo Alvarez, was summoned to the Foreign Office today to ascertain the report, an External Affairs Ministry spokesman said.

Serious concern was voiced in the Rajya Sabha today over reports that Ecuador was in the process of recognizing the "Government-in-exile" of Mr Jagjit Singh Chauhan, adds PTI.

The matter was raised in a special mention by Mr M. S. Gurupadaswamy (Janata), who read out reports of the conclave held in London.

Mr Gurupadaswamy described it as a serious matter and an infringement of the assurance given by the British Government to India that it would not allow the Indian extremists to operate from its soil.

Envoy in London Protests

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 31 Jul 85 p 9

[Article by K. N. Malik]

[Text] London, 30 Jul--The Indian high commission yesterday lodged a strong protest with the Ecuador Embassy here against the arrival of an official delegation from that country three days ago to meet some extremist Sikh leaders.

The delegation is led by the former president of Ecuador and chairman of the National Revolution Action Party, which is a constituent of the ruling coalition, includes a secretary-level official of the foreign office, Dr Christ Montero and a lawyer. It was received on arrival by the charge d'affaires of the Ecuador Embassy. An embassy car has been placed at its disposal.

The Indian protest was conveyed this morning during the brief meeting between the deputy high commissioner, Mr R. C. Arora, and the charge d'affaires, Senor Byron Morejon-Almeida. Mr Arora let it be known that the Ecuadoran action would jeopardise diplomatic relations between that country and India. A second protest may be conveyed by a senior high commission official, possibly the high commissioner himself, when the Ecuador ambassador who has been away from London returns.

The Ecuador officials told Mr Arora that the three Ecuadorans were here in a private capacity and that they had no official status. Ecuador maintains diplomatic relations with India and, therefore, recognises no separatist government or group. The same statement was made by an embassy press officer.

The delegation has met separatist ~~Sikh~~ leaders who maintain that the Ecuador President, Mr Leon Sevres Cordero, has informed them that the delegation is official. The delegation, according to separatist Sikhs, has conveyed to them that they could open their office in Quito. The separatists Sikhs would be given 120 to 160 hectares of land to open their office and impart military training to volunteers.

They also claimed that the Ecuador Government would enable Sikh volunteers to join the military to get training and gain operational experience. The delegation went to some gurdwaras here and reportedly joined in raising Khalistan slogans.

Diplomatic observers feel that the delegation has the patronage of the right-wing government and been encouraged by some big power inimical to India. The suggestion is that some influential people in the U.S. administration are behind it. The timing of its arrival gives credence to the belief that the purpose is solely to minimise the good impact of the accord on Punjab on Sikhs at home and abroad.

Such a move may also be aimed at convincing the hardscore separatists that they need not despair. At least one government has given the separatist idea a blessing; the others would follow.

It is known that the agreement has been welcomed widely, openly.

The secretary of the Sikh Forum of the U.K., Mr P. S. Raina, and the president of the Indian Merchants' Association, Dr Kartar Singh Lalwani, have asked Sikhs abroad to put their weight behind Sant Longowal and Mr Rajiv Gandhi to enable the Punjabis, particularly Sikhs, to play their rightful role in nation-building.

On the other hand, extremist Sikhs were taken by surprise at the announcement of the agreement. They were stunned by the welcome reaction in the foreign press, particularly in Europe and the United States. They realised that they were bound to lose financial and political support from Sikhs. They have, therefore, stepped up efforts to persuade their backers such as foreign intelligence agencies and interested groups.

The Ecuador delegation is likely to be here for three or four days. The separatists would make the maximum use of these delegates. They would be taken around the U.K. to revive the flagging enthusiasm of extremists.

INDIA

'UNITED' AKALI DAL, OTHERS REJECT PUNJAB PACT

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 26 Jul 85 p 1

[Text] Amritsar, July 25. - While the "united" Akali Dal today rejected the agreement reached yesterday by the Prime Minister and Sant Longowal, Rajasthan refused to accept the provisions on the sharing of river waters, report UNI and PTI. Mr Joginder Singh's faction described the memorandum as a "sell out".

The meetings of the Dal and a faction of the All-India Sikh Students Federation owing allegiance to it adopted similar resolutions rejecting the accord.

The resolution adopted at the meeting presided over by Dr Joginder Singh branded Sant Longowal, Mr Balwant Singh and Mr Surjit Singh Barnala as "traitors" of the panth. The resolution asserted that the three leaders did not represent the Sikh masses.

Sant Longowal was accused of diluting the Anandpur Sahib resolution which it said, was the basis of launching the "dharam yudh morcha" in 1972.

Listing various sections of the accord, the resolution said that on each and every count the interests of the Sikhs and Punjab had been sold out.

Rajasthan

The Chief Minister, Mr Harideo Joshi, told the Vidhan Sabha during a stormy three-hour debate that he had discussed the relevant portion of the agreement with the former Law Minister, Mr P. Shiv Shankar, at Sanganer airport and disapproved it. Thereafter, Mr Joshi said, he had called a meeting of his Cabinet which supported his stand.

Mr. Joshi said he had immediately sent a telex to the Prime Minister, stating that it was "unnecessary to connect Rajasthan in the agreement of 1955 and 1981 and also in the White Paper issued by the Centre".

He said he was asked to come to Delhi for discussion but had expressed his inability due to the budget session under way.

The House was adjourned for half-an-hour amidst noisy scenes following the debate in which the Opposition alleged that the interests of the State has been completely ignored in the agreement. The Opposition parties walked out.

Members felt that the agreement was at the cost of Rajasthan, particularly because it specified that the State would get water from Ravi-Beas at the rate of what it was receiving on July 1 this year.

Haryana

Our Special Representative in Chandigarh adds: The Opposition parties in Haryana are meeting tomorrow to decide their course of action following what they described as betrayal of Haryana.

An "all-Opposition committee" today demanded the resignation of the Chief Minister Mr Bhajan Lal and all M.P.s from the State.

Mr Virender Singh of the Lok Dal, who is the convener of the all-parties joint committee, told a Press conference today that as far as the Lok Dal was concerned, its members were publicly committed to resign their Assembly seats in case Haryana's interests were harmed.

In the Golden Temple complex, supporters of the rival Akali Dals raised slogans, supporting and opposing the accord.

CSO: 4600/1840

INDIA

NAXALITE GROUPS MERGE, FORM NEW PARTY

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 24 Jul 85 p 3

[Text]

Another two Naxalite groups, formerly led by the late C. P. Reddy and S. N. Singh, have merged into single party, the CPI (ML). The general secretaries of the new organization's central committee, Mr S. R. Bhaljee, and of the provincial committee, Mr Sadhan Sarkar, said in a statement on Tuesday that the untimely death of the two former leaders had temporarily halted the merger move.

Three months ago, six Naxalite groups under the leadership of Mr Kanu Sanyal had formed the Communist Organization of India at a conference at Naxalbari. But there is a basic difference between the two unity moves. Mr Bhaljee and Mr Sarkar have said in a statement that to talk of building a new party after terming the CPI (ML) a terrorist party is a step to divide communist revolutionaries. This is in direct reference to Mr Kanu Sanyal's statement branding the CPI (ML) a terrorist party while forming the COI.

Opposing "individual terrorism as well as parliamentarism of any form" Mr Bhaljee and Mr Sarkar said "We agree that the split in our party in 1979 was wrong and unfortunate. The policy of building an anti-Soviet front with U.S. imperialism and of building a front against the Soviet agents the Congress (I), with other sections of the ruling classes was wholly wrong", they said.

CSO: 4600/1836

INDIA

MIDYEAR INCREASE IN 1985-1986 PLAN ANNOUNCED

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 31 Jul 85 p 1

[Text]

New Delhi, July 30: The Union finance minister, Mr V.P. Singh, today announced a mid-year increase of Rs 956 crores in the budgetary allocation for the 1985-86 Annual Plan.

This has been done through supplementary demands for grants. Another increase of Rs 200 crores in the Railways' plan is also expected to be announced soon.

As a result of the supplementary demands, the budgetary deficit this year is expected to increase by Rs 1,248 crores from the original estimate of Rs 3,349 crores.

Of the increase in Plan outlay, Rs 122 crores has been set aside for anti-poverty programmes, namely the rural landless employment guarantee schemes and national rural employment programme.

Another Rs 110 crores has been provided for Plan schemes for education, like setting up model schools and elementary and nonformal education programmes.

The supplementary demands also provide Rs 300 crores for the Visag Steel Plant and Rs 290 crores for Nalco (National Aluminium Company).

The demands also include Rs 400 crores as ways and means advance to states.

The budget also provides additional Rs 250 crores for food subsidies.

DISSIDENCE WITHIN CPI-M REPORTED TO INTENSIFY

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 28 Jul 85 p 3

[Text]

POLITICAL and ideological difference within the CPI(M), especially in West Bengal, appear to have intensified since the last Lok Sabha poll, as indicated by recent reports and commentaries on meetings of the State Committee. According to sources close to dissident groups, a section within the CPI(M) is maintaining close contact with former members of the party who have regrouped themselves in several forums.

Immediately after the last Lok Sabha elections, some members of the West Bengal State Committee and even some leaders of the district and local committee were said to have demanded a thorough reappraisal of the party's stand on ideological and political issues. The main argument of the critics was that the party had deviated from its ideological path by a series of compromises. The group also expressed strong reservations about the party programme.

A summary of Mr E. M. S. Namboodiripad's reply to the critics at the West Bengal State Committee's meeting was published in a theoretical journal of the CPI(M), *Marxbadl* Path. In his reply, Mr Namboodiripad alluded to some questions raised by members on the party's attitude to India's foreign policy before and after the death of Mrs Gandhi, on "para 112 of our party programme" and on steps to expand the party in the Hindi belt according to the decision of Salkia plenum.

Para 112 of the CPI(M)'s party programme has often been a source of controversy. In the January-March, 1985, issue of the theoretical quarterly of the CPI(M), *The Marxist*, Mr M. Basavapunniah said: "In recent inner-party discussions analysing the reasons for some reverses in the Lok Sabha elections in West Bengal and Kerala, some comrades were trying to find out whether para 112 of our Party programme, its contents and the manner of its implementation has some role to play in such reverses." He felt that

there was nothing extraordinary or unusual in such retrospection and said that "para 112 of the programme deals with a specific tactical question the question of the party's participation not only in the bourgeois elections but also participation in State Governments wherever such opportunities arise".

Knowledgeable sources claim that some members of the State Committee had not only demanded the scrapping of para 112, but also asked for a thorough reappraisal of the party programme. Some dissidents say that Mr Namboodiripad's speech was defensive in nature on issues like the party's support to the country's foreign policy, its decision to keep the party flag at half-mast following Mrs Gandhi's assassination and the Politburo's statement on Mrs Gandhi's death. Above all, they argue there was an element of admission in Mr Namboodiripad's reply to the charges of transforming the party into an election-oriented one and infiltration into it of petit-bourgeois elements. They also maintain that the very fact that the CPI(M) leadership had to publish a summary of Mr Namboodiripad's speech in its journal indicated that it was under pressure from within.

According to some critics of the official line, dissidents within the CPI(M) are now more organized. It is claimed that they have always been in touch with the former members, who had either left or been expelled from the party since 1989. This led to the emergence of a group known as Naya Istahar (New Manifesto). The dissident elements were later divided into several other groups, one being the Lenin Centre, which in its journal 'Lenin Smaran' (In November, 1974) criticized para 112 of the CPI(M)'s party programme. Some of the dissident elements, it is stated, later regrouped themselves as the Marxist Forum.

All this, the dissidents claim, has become a cause for concern

for the CPI(M) leadership, especially on the eve of the party Congress, to be held in Calcutta in December. The dissidents are said to be preparing an alternative document for circulation at the party Congress.

INDIA

BJP EXECUTIVE MEETS, ADOPTS RESOLUTION

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 29 Jul 85 pp 1, 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, July 28.—An emergency meeting of the Bharatiya Janata Party's national executive has said that "to the extent that the Rajiv-Longowal memorandum of settlement on Punjab holds out hopes for an end to the confrontation in the State, it has brought relief to the people, but against the background of the Government's stand till date on various aspects of the Punjab problem, the agreement is a complete climb-down.

"Indeed, if the Government was willing to go as far as it has now gone, why did it not sign such an agreement long ago? Why was the nation subjected to the bloodshed and trauma of the past three years?"

A resolution adopted by the BJP national executive and released here today, said the national executive had "serious misgivings about this accord" on seven different counts, the most important objection being to "the Government's volte-face on the Anandpur Sahib resolution".

It said that during the Lok Sabha election, Mr Rajiv Gandhi had made the Anandpur Sahib resolution the principal plank of his campaign and had accused all Opposition parties, including the BJP, for supporting this resolution which, according to him, "bore the seed of India's disintegration".

The BJP had then challenged the Prime Minister's statement and cited numerous party pronouncements in this regard, including Mr A. B. Vajpayee's denunciation of it as "a charter of disintegration...but the Congress (I) persisted in its mendacious propaganda. Now, abruptly, the Akali Dal's spurious interpretation of this resolution has been incorporated in an official document signed by the Prime Minister, and the resolution referred by the Government itself to the Sarkaria Commission".

The resolution said that the Rajiv-Longowal accord had referred to the Sarkaria Commission the Anandpur Sahib resolution in so

far as it deals with Centre-State relations, as its Clause 3 says. "But it is precisely the portions of the resolution relating to Centre-State relations which carry the seeds of India's disintegration" and are the most obnoxious. The text of the Anandpur Sahib resolution, as authenticated by Mr Longowal and incorporated in the white paper, says that Centre-State relations should be so rearranged so that in the new Punjab "the Centre's interference would be restricted to defence, foreign relations, currency and general communication".

Defining its political goal as "the pre-eminence of the Khasa", the Akali Dal, according to this resolution, will strive "to constitute a single administrative unit where the interests of the Sikhs and Sikhism are specifically protected". In the revised list of 15 demands (the earlier list contained 45 demands) the Akali Dal has itself summed up the Anandpur Sahib resolution as one requiring suitable amendments in the Constitution. In the new set-up, "the Sikhs would enjoy special rights as a nation", as the white paper specifically points out.

The BJP executive's resolution said: "It is because of the above-noted content that the BJP has unequivocally rejected all versions of the Anandpur Sahib resolution. The Sikhs are not a separate nation. There can be no theocratic sub-State in the country where the interests of Sikhs and Sikhism are specifically protected. And no proposal which seeks to confine the Central Government's authority to four subjects only, and thus change the character of the Indian Constitution can be accepted. The BJP regrets that this accord has conferred recognition and respectability to the Anandpur Sahib resolution and thus has grave implications for the country's unity."

The national executive also held that "a very wrong precedent has been set by having the country's Prime Minister enter into a formal agreement with the president of a

"political party". The manner in which the two leaders were shown on television signing the agreement and exchanging documents had the look of two heads of Government signing a treaty. If it had been a Congress (I)-Akali accord, there would have been no objection. But described as a memorandum of settlement, and signed by the Prime Minister and the president of the Akali Dal, it certainly lowered the dignity of the Prime Minister's office and made the Akali Dal seem the sole representative of Punjab and also of all Sikhs in the country, the BJP resolution said.

It also pointed out that the Shah Commission had given Chandigarh to Haryana; that Indira Gandhi, in her award, gave Chandigarh to Punjab, but in lieu of Abohar and Fazilka to Haryana. At the tripartite conference in January, 1983, all Opposition parties maintained that the 1955 agreement on Beas-Sutlej waters could not be reopened. "Rajasthan is justifiably angry and Haryana farmers are understandably perturbed because the Rajiv-Longowal agreement gives them a raw deal in this matter. Further, the Government's promise to enact an all-India Gurdwaras Act cannot but cause disquiet because it will only further communalize Indian politics".

"Under the agreement, the inquiry into the Delhi violence in November last year is to extend to Kanpur and Bokaro. The BJP regrets that it will still not cover violence in Punjab. It is also surprising that in this agreement, while the Government has gone all out to satisfy the Akalis, it has not secured a single commitment in writing from the Akalis with regard either to terrorism or violence, or use of gurdwaras for ulterior purposes".

CSO: 4600/1844

INDIA

LARKINS BROTHERS SENTENCED TO 10 YEARS IN PRISON

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 25 Jul 85 p 1

[Text]

MAJ. Gen F. D. Larkins (retd), his younger brother, Air Vice-Marshal K. H. Larkins (retd) and Lt. Col. Jasbir Singh (retd) were each sentenced to a total of ten years' rigorous imprisonment and varying amounts of fines for running an espionage network with U.S. officials and supplying to them sensitive information on Soviet military equipment.

The additional sessions judge, Mr. K. B. Andley, who tried them, however, sentenced their fourth co-accused, Jaspal Singh Gill, a Delhi-based businessman, to two years' rigorous imprisonment on counts of conspiracy and under the Official Secrets Act. He was also fine Rs. 1,000 as only a single restricted document—defence telephone directory—was recovered from him.

On his application, Mr. Andley ordered Jaspal's release on bail till August 14 on his furnishing a surety of Rs. 10,000 which was furnished by his sister. The bail was granted to enable him to file an appeal. The operation of the sentence of fine was also suspended.

Rejecting the plea of the Larkins brothers and Lt. Col. Jasbir Singh (retd)—for leniency, Mr. Andley observed that their submissions were conventional ploys.

"They were motivated not by ideology but by greed. They had done immeasurable damage to the country, the army, air force, and also the officer corps. They did their best to give away the country they so passionately professed to love," the judge noted.

The Larkins brothers and Jasbir Singh were sentenced under Section 3(c) of the Official Secrets Act for collecting and communicating classified defence secrets on Russian military equipment with IAF and army to four U.S. cover agents operating under nicknames Jockey, John, Ben and Bud between 1977 and 1982.

F. D. Larkins was ordered to pay a fine of Rs. 6,000, K. H. Larkins Rs. 1,000 and Jasbir Singh Rs. 1,000.

Mr. Andley suspended the sentence in respect of Gill till August 14 to enable him to file and appeal against today's order.

INDIA

TENSION REPORTED TO PREVAIL ON BANGLADESH BORDER

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 26 Jul 85 p 9

[Text] Belonia, 25 Jul (PTI)--Tension still prevails on the India-Bangladesh border overlooking this frontier town in south Tripura, ever since India completed the revetment work on the 'char' land (river islands), opposite Belonia town.

Officials here said that Bangladesh's fresh claim on the 'char' land last week and the 'aggressive' patrolling by BOR, had posed threats to Indian villagers.

The Border Security Force jawans have taken 'suitable measures' to provide cover to the Indian villagers, they said.

Sources said India would continue to construct the Belonia town protection embankment under BSF cover, like the revetment work.

According to officials, the revetment work over a length of 600 metres, without raising the 'char' land by filled depressions, was objected to by Bangladesh in the meetings of the Indo-Bangladesh joint rivers commission in April last.

India said that since Bangladesh was constructing revetment work on its side of the Muhuri River, extending up to a distance of more than 300 feet at stages, as against the agreed distance of 75 feet as settled in 1979, there was no opinion but to construct the revetments to protect the banks and the 'char' lands on the Indian side.

Bangladesh reportedly raised protests in last June's ministerial-level meeting of the JRC in Dhaka against the proposed Indian construction of an embankment on the 'disputed' 44.6 acres of 'char' land on the left side of Belonia town.

Impartial Demarcation

Officials said that India had expressed its firm opinion that the 'char' land was under its possession and belongs to India, which Bangladesh objected to by saying that any construction on the disputed area "would obstruct and prejudice an impartial demarcation by the two countries' land demarcation committee."

Bangladesh at the meeting asserted that the Muhuri 'char' lands belonged to it and said the disputed areas would fall on its side 'if the correct demarcation is made.'

Sources said that Bangladesh had started aggressive patrolling after the work on revetments on the small 'char' lands was undertaken. That country also resents the construction work on the three-km. Belonia town protection embankment 'which would suitably match' the Fakhirkhil-Nijkalikapur embankments built by Bangladesh with solid spurs. They felt that Bangladesh had 'over-reacted.'

New Delhi: The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, is sending Mr P. Shiv Shankar as his special envoy to Dhaka for talks with the Bangladesh leaders on sharing of the Ganga waters and the question of fencing the Indo-Bangladesh border.

Mr. Shiv Shankar will leave for Dhaka on Monday and during his three-day stay in Bangladesh discuss all the bilateral issues between the two neighbouring countries.

CSO: 4600/1839

INDIA

BRIEFS

SIKKIM BAN LIFTED--Gangtok, 1 Aug--The Centre has withdrawn the restrictions on the foreign tourists visiting Sikkim, reports UNI. The Chief Minister, Mr Nar Bahadur Bhandari, said the Union Home Ministry had communicated to the State Government that foreign tourists, numbering up to 20, could now visit parts of the State through tours conducted by recognized Indian travel agencies. The restrictions have been withdrawn for tourist spots like Pomaynagtse (9,000 ft) besides Rumtek and Poding. The Centre's decision followed the talks between the Chief Minister and the Union Home Minister, Mr S.B. Chavan in May. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 2 Aug 85 p 9]

NEW AMBASSADORS NAMED--New Delhi, 1 Aug--Miss Arundhati Ghose, now ambassador to the Republic of Korea, has been appointed ambassador to the German Democratic Republic, succeeding Mr T. Prabhakar Menon. Mr Gurcharan Singh, High Commissioner to Ghana, has been appointed ambassador to Jordan in place of Mr P.L. Santoshi--PTI. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 2 Aug 85 p 9]

INDO-YUGOSLAV TRADE--New Delhi, 29 Jul--A trade protocol was signed between India and Yugoslavia here today envisaging steps to increase the level of trade and promote joint ventures in third countries. The protocol was the outcome of a four-day meeting of Indo-Yugoslav Joint Committee which concluded today. The Union Commerce Minister, Mr V. P. Singh led the Indian team while Dr Milanko Bojanovic headed the visiting Yugoslav delegation. Both sides recognised that the level of trade did not reflect the requirements of the two countries. It was also not commensurate with the close traditional and political relationship between the two countries. Export group set up: The linked deal mechanism, which had been designed to raise the level of trade and diversify it on a more balanced basis, was discussed in detail and it was decided to set up an expert group to examine the problems obstructing trade. Some procedural bottlenecks were identified and remedial measures suggested. On the question of third country projects and industrial cooperation, considerable ground was covered. Both sides noted with satisfaction that there had been pronounced improvement in industrial cooperation between the two countries in many fields. It was decided to take necessary steps to further intensify these contacts. With regard to third country projects, both sides agreed to keep close contact with each other and to cooperate from the pre-tendering stage. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 30 Jul 85 p 11]

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DATE FILMED

September 13, 1985